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Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina
Cornaro:
The Politics of Queenship and
Identity in Cyprus and Italy 1458-1861

Marina Tymviou

Doctoral Thesis

*Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy*

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Abbreviations

AMA An	Archivio Museo di Asolo, Anonymous, <i>Memorie sulla Città e Territorio di Asolo: Cenni storici spettanti la vita di Catterina Corner Lusignan, Regina di Cipro, Gerusalemme ed Armenia e Signora di Asolo</i> , ms. 17.
AMA AP	Archivio Museo di Asolo, Antonio G. Pivetta, <i>Storia dell' antica Città di Asolo dalla sua presunta origine fino al 1880</i> , ms. Cart., 1880.
AMA LR	Archivio Museo di Asolo, Archivio Museo Asolo, <i>Libro Rosso</i> , Ms. Sec.XVII.
AST NV	Archivio di Stato di Torino, <i>Materie Politiche-Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia</i>
AST RC	Archivio di Stato di Torino, <i>Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro</i> .
ASV ST	Archivio di Stato di Venezia, <i>Archivi propri ambasciatori e ambasciate: Archivio proprio Savoia-Torino</i> .
ASV AC	Archivio di Stato di Venezia, <i>Archivio privato Corner</i> .
ASV CJ	Archivio di Stato di Venezia, A.S.V., <i>Consultori in Jure</i> .
BC PP	Biblioteca Correr, Ms. 1213/2733, Paolina Pontini, <i>Discorso delle ragioni che tiene la Serenis.a Rep.ca Diven.a sopra il Regno di Cipro. Dedicato all'illustrissimo, Eccel.mo & Revendissimo Monsignor. Gio. Battista Sanudo. Vescono di Trevigi</i> .

- BNM AC 8182 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *It. 8182, Antonio Colbertaldo, Historia di D: D: Catterina Corner Regina di Cipro.*
- BNM AC 8377 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *It. 8377, Antonio Colbertaldi, Breve Compendio della vita di Cattarina Cornara Regina di Cipro.*
- BNM BS Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *It. VII, 918 (=8392) Bernardo Sagredo, "Relattione de ser Bernardo Sagredo del Regno de Cipro, che fu Proved.r General" (sec.XVI.). Inc. "L' Isola di Cipro circunda miglia 550". (cc.170-182, già 47-59).*
- BRT GG Biblioteca Reale di Torino, *S.P.Misc., Vol. 160bis.*
- BUB An Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, *MS 1838, Anonimo, Exordio al somnio in laude dela serenissima Madonna Caterina Cornelia di Cy' Meridissima Regina.*

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Introduction

The present thesis aims to explore and analyse the identities of two fifteenth-century queens of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, Charlotte of Lusignan (1444-1487) and Caterina Cornaro (1454-1510), first as queens in Cyprus during the periods 1458-1464 for Charlotte and 1472-1489 for Caterina, and then in exile during 1464-1487 and 1489-1510 for Charlotte and Caterina respectively. Charlotte and Caterina were queens regnant in the fifteenth century, and serve as important case studies in a wider context of gender studies and queenship in early modern Europe. In this comparative study they are systematically analysed in parallel for the first time. The thesis explores the identities of the two queens and how those identities were developed historiographically and in art history after their deaths. Their symbolic significance in subsequent diplomatic conflicts between Venice and Savoy, their impacts on politics and diplomacy in the Italian Peninsula and Cyprus from the fifteenth century to the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797 and the Italian Unification in the late nineteenth century will also be analysed.

Before explaining the structure of this thesis, we should reflect on some of the characteristics of early modern queenship in order to understand Charlotte and Caterina better as queens regnant. In broad terms, prior to the period of this dissertation, women were subordinated in both the law and the church, while the majority of the heads of states and all the church leaders and

popes were men.¹ “[M]an was made in the image of God and was therefore active, formative, and tending toward perfection”, or so it was generally believed. By contrast, women were “passive, material, and deprived”.² Women, being considered inferior to men, were typically described as daughters, wives or widows of men.³ In this patriarchal world, the father was the leader of the house and household hierarchy. In the same way, the king enjoyed God’s paternal authority as the *parens patriae*.⁴

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, various ancient Greek sources were translated in West Europe, including those of Aristotle, which became more widely known in the universities.⁵ Aristotle presented the female gender as monstrous.⁶ Women’s logical capacity is inferior, he argued, as they cannot control their emotions; they follow their feelings (pleasures and pains), which prevent them from acting as leaders.⁷ With a lack of prudence, wives had to be permanently ruled by their prudent and capable husbands.⁸ In parallel, men should politically rule women as the male soul had courage and temperance, while the female soul is ruled by passions.⁹ Unable to control their emotions and passions, women could not be objective.¹⁰ Neither could they make their own deliberations.¹¹ Thus, according to Aristotle, women should always be excluded from political decisions.¹²

Medieval scholars, via Aristotle, sought to justify the inferiority and incapacity of women and the axiomatic superiority and capacity of men.¹³ Thus,

¹ Jennifer Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe: 1200-1500* (London, 2016), p.1.

² Susan Mosher Stuard, “Brideprice, Dowry, and Other Marital Assigns” in Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2013), 159.

³ Ward, *Women*, p.4.

⁴ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, “Women’s Authority in the State and Household in Early Modern Europe” in Annette Dixon, ed., *Women who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art* (London, 2002), 34-36.

⁵ William F. MacLehose, “Aristotelian Concepts of Women and Gender” in Margaret Schaus, ed., *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (London, 2006), 35.

⁶ Wiesner-Hanks, “Women’s Authority”, 31.

⁷ William W. Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle’s Practical Side: On His Psychology, Ethics, Politics and Rhetoric* (Leiden, 2016), pp.244-247.

⁸ Leah Bradshaw, “Political Rule, Prudence and the ‘Woman Question’ in Aristotle” in *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique*, Vol. I (1991), 564.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 564-566.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 567.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 570.

¹² *Ibid.*, 571.

¹³ Mosher Stuard, “Brideprice”, p.158.

by extension, men should rule and women should be ruled.¹⁴ The ideal rulers, being prudent and wise, should be decisive, good decision-makers, with knowledge and practical experience.¹⁵ They should also be experienced in warfare as a necessary skill for ruling and diplomacy, something that additionally was thought to preclude women.¹⁶ For this reason, those diplomats close to princes were men: experts in warfare; clerics; noblemen; and merchants.¹⁷ In this established male cultural and political system, the roles of a queen were, in general, inferior to those of the king, framed instead by their humility and piety.¹⁸ The inferiority of the queens was even suggested by the fact that their thrones and sceptres were typically smaller than those of the kings. Queens were expected to focus on their families, given that their main responsibility was to give birth to male heirs.¹⁹

The fact, however, that the women's focus (including queens) was on their families did not mean that they had no influence. Women could become patrons of literature, art, music, architecture and sciences.²⁰ Queen consorts, queen regents and even queen mothers could participate in governing, even if, in general, they were less powerful than their male counterparts.²¹ They could also support the political careers of men, influence families via their marriages, and express their opinions via letters of advice.²² Occasionally, "women were valued negotiators and enabled male relatives to overcome an impasse".²³ Thus, fathers, husbands and brothers used their female relatives to achieve their own ambitions relating to their foreign policies and diplomacy.²⁴ Queens (consorts, regents and regnant) "had to function in a male-dominated and highly

¹⁴ MacLehose, "Aristotelian Concepts", 35.

¹⁵ Bradshaw, "Aristotle", 559-561.

¹⁶ Catherine Fletcher "The Ladies' Peace Revisited: Gender, Counsel and Diplomacy" in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 119.

¹⁷ Ibid., 112.

¹⁸ Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (London, 2013), p.40.

¹⁹ Ward, *Women*, pp.140-141.

²⁰ Wiesner-Hanks, "Women's Authority", 36.

²¹ Earenfight, *Queenship*, p.6.

²² Wiesner-Hanks, "Women's Authority", 36.

²³ Fletcher "Peace", 123.

²⁴ Michelle L. Beer "Between Kings and Emperors: Catherine of Aragon as Counsellor and Mediator" in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 37.

gendered political sphere”,²⁵ but nevertheless, were able to exercise substantial power, often in distinctive ways.²⁶

Queens, as leading members of royal families, could express in the courts mainly informally the power and status of their families.²⁷ They could also support the kings politically and financially, via their natal families, titles and dowries.²⁸ They could operate as liaisons between their place of origin and their ruling husbands²⁹ and “agents, instruments or catalysts of cultural and dynastic transfer”, though this was not without potential problems since “the trustworthiness of these women to act in their marital realm’s interests raised doubts, often even after the birth of sons, since their allegiances were perceived to be divided between natal and marital dynasties”.³⁰ We can see this briefly in some specific examples.

Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), to take an example, participated in English diplomacy while retaining close connections with her family back in Spain.³¹ In 1507, she became the official counsellor of her father and king of Spain, Fernando of Aragon, in the English court.³² As such, she gave strategic advice to him, though she advised her English father-in-law Henry VII (r.1485-1509), and after the death of her husband Arthur, she negotiated her wedding to his brother Henry VIII (r.1509-1547), providing counsel to her husband thereafter.³³ As a queen consort and counsel, Catherine hosted Spanish, Imperial, French and other ambassadors.³⁴ For her part, Mary Tudor, Henry VIII’s sister, became queen consort of France (r.1514-1515), and acted as a

²⁵ Elena Woodacre, “Introduction: Queenship in the Mediterranean” in Elena Woodacre, *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York, 2013), 6.

²⁶ Earenfight, *Queenship*, p.26.

²⁷ Ward, *Women*, pp.141-142.

²⁸ Earenfight, *Queenship*, pp.25-26.

²⁹ Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, “Introduction”, in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 6; Helen Matheson-Pollock “Counselloresses and Court Politics: Mary Tudor, Queen of France and Female Counsel in European Politics, 1509-15” in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 63.

³⁰ Matheson-Pollock, Paul, Fletcher “Introduction”, 4; Susan Broomhall “Counsel as Performative Practice of Power in Catherine de’ Medici’s Early Regencies” in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 136.

³¹ Beer “Catherine of Aragon”, 35-37.

³² Ibid., 39; Matheson-Pollock, Paul, Fletcher “Introduction”, 8.

³³ Beer “Catherine of Aragon”, 40.

³⁴ Ibid., p.44.

diplomatic agent and counsellor of her husband, King Louis XII (r.1498-1515), in his deals with Henry VIII.³⁵ She was in contact with the English ambassadors in France, and she was also surrounded by female attendants who moved from England to France.³⁶ These transnational queens could even bridge confessional divides. Another instance, was the Roman Catholic Catherine Jagiellon (r.1568-1583), daughter of the king of Poland, Sigismund I (r.1506-1548), married the duke of Finland, John Vasa, who became the Lutheran king of Sweden (r.1568-1592). As a queen consort, Catherine was, in effect, a political agent between the two courts.³⁷

There are several other instances too where regency government presented opportunities for women to exercise princely power, either as counsellors or regents in their own rights. Catherine de' Medici was a queen consort (r.1547-1559) as wife of Henri II of France (r.1547-1559).³⁸ While her husband was away for military purposes, Catherine operated as a queen regent,³⁹ securing domestic allies of high political status to bolster her position with the Parliament of Paris. Thus, in April 1552, she decided to counsel and be counselled by Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, who was the Lieutenant General in Paris.⁴⁰ In August 1557, when Henri departed to continue the war against the Habsburgs, Catherine gained financial support from the Parliament of Paris for the protection of the kingdom. This success was above the expectations of her husband and demonstrates an event of exercising power.⁴¹

In the category of queens who temporarily replaced their husbands was Blanca I of Navarre, daughter of the king of Navarre, Carlos III (r.1387-1425). Carlos wanted to improve the relations with the kingdom to Aragon, so he married his daughter in 1402 to Martín the younger, king of Sicily (r.1390-

³⁵ Matheson-Pollock, Paul, Fletcher "Introduction", 8; Matheson-Pollock "Counselloresses", 59-61.

³⁶ Ibid., 69.

³⁷ Susanna Niiranen "Catherine Jagiellon, Queen Consort of Sweden: Counselling Between the Catholic Jagiellons and the Lutheran Vasas" in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), pp.83-84.

³⁸ Broomhall "Catherine de' Medici's", 135.

³⁹ Ibid., 135.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 140-142.

⁴¹ Ibid., 149-150.

1409).⁴² As queen consort (1402-1409) she was twice queen-lieutenant when the king was absent. The first time was in 1404 when Martín travelled to Aragon and the second in 1408, when he fought in Sardinia (where he also died). On both occasions, Blanca successfully dealt with the administration.⁴³ After the death of her husband and her father-in-law in 1409 and 1410 respectively, Blanca remained as a viceroy of Sicily, as this was the will of Martín.⁴⁴

The next case is an example of queenship indirectly involved in warfare. It was Margaret of Austria, Emperor Maximilian's daughter, who was counsel to her father.⁴⁵ She was married to Filiberto of Savoy for three years only (1501-1504) as he died. Then, from 1507 until her death in 1530, she was the first governess of the Habsburg, Netherlands, where she had "a small but highly cultivated court in Mechelen".⁴⁶ In a letter that she had sent to her father in 1511, she mentioned that as a woman she had no experience in warfare, so she could not advise him adequately. However, it is not certain that Margaret believed that she could not give counsel in warfare due to her lack of experience. Margaret, although an experienced woman in diplomacy and counsel, seemed to have limits. In 1510, being the regent of Burgundy, as part of the negotiations with Charles II about a conflict for the Duchy of Guelders, she refused to speak of warfare feeling that she lacked the relevant practical experience to give advice about military issues, letting Maximilian, her father and Emperor, know that "You know I am a woman". However, she provided useful information for him reach the proper decision.⁴⁷

Moreover, in 1525, Francis I was captured by the Holy Roman Emperor in the Battle of Pavia. His mother, Louis of Savoy, became queen regent in France and together with his half sister, Marguerite, queen consort of Navarre, they negotiated his release. Their ally to that was the aforementioned Margaret of

⁴² Elena Woodacre, "Blanca, Queen of Sicily and Queen of Navarre: Connecting the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean via an Aragonese Alliance" in Elena Woodacre, *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York, 2013), 207.

⁴³ Ibid., 212-213.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 213-214.

⁴⁵ Matheson-Pollock, Paul, Fletcher "Introduction", 7.

⁴⁶ Walter Liedtke "Delft and the Arts before 1600" in Walter Liedtke, Michiel C. Plomp and Alex Rüger, eds., *Vermeer and the Delft School* (London, 2001), 25.

⁴⁷ Fletcher "Peace", 118-119.

Austria.⁴⁸ The mediation of these three women prove that women could be involved in diplomacy and politics. It should also be mentioned here that Louise of Savoy (mother of the French king Francis I) and Margaret of Austria (aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) negotiated the peace in 1529 “as counsellors and recipients of counsel” ending in this way a long-time war in the Italian Peninsula. This treaty is known as “Ladies’ Peace”. Sending his mother to negotiate, Francis could argue, in a future time, that she had negotiated the peace without his knowledge, so he could repudiate the deal.⁴⁹ This peace will be presented in Part II of this thesis and although women, in general, mainly undertook informal diplomatic roles, this case is evidence of formal participation.

Queens could be successful regents too, either as heir guardians or as rulers replacing temporarily their absent husbands. We can see this in the cases of Catherine de’ Medici, mentioned above, and Marie de’ Medici, queen consort in France (r.1600-1610) and then queen regent, as heir guardian of her son Louis XIII (r.1610-1643).⁵⁰ Another instance was the cases of two dowager grand duchesses of Tuscany, Christina of Lorraine (r.1589-1609) and Maria Maddalena of Austria (r.1609-1621), who became co-regents between 1621 and 1628 for Ferdinando II de’ Medici (r.1621-1670), who was just eleven when he became grand duke of Tuscany (Christina was his grandmother and Maria Maddalena his mother). Both of them continued to influence Ferdinando until their deaths (his mother died in 1631 and his grandmother in 1637).⁵¹ Furthermore, Anne of Austria was queen consort of France (r.1615-1643) and then queen regent and guardian of her son (r.1643-1651). To strengthen her position as a queen regent in a male dominant world, the following inscription is written in an emblem of Anne: *Rex animo non sexu* (king by the mind, not by gender).⁵²

⁴⁸ Anne Lake Prescott “ ‘And Then She Fell on a Great Laughter’: Tudor Diplomats Read Marguerite de Navarre” in Margaret Mikesell and Adele Seeff, eds., *Culture and Change: Attending to Early Modern Women* (London, 2003), 51.

⁴⁹ Fletcher “Peace”, 111-114.

⁵⁰ Julian Swann, *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610-1789* (Oxford, 2017), p.38.

⁵¹ Louise Rice “The Cuckoldries of Baccio del Bianco” in Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, ed., *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15th-17th Century)* (Surrey, 2014), 238.

⁵² Bettina Baumgärtel, “Is the King Genderless? The Staging of the Female Regent as Minerva Pacifera” in Annette Dixon, ed., *Women who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art* (London, 2002), p.97.

In the second half of the fifteenth century and sixteenth century, there were more cases of ruling queens.⁵³ The question was what mattered more: gender or rank, a point relevant to the cases of Charlotte and Caterina.⁵⁴ We can see this in the case of Isabel of Castile (r.1474-1504). Isabel was married to Fernando II of Aragon (r.1479-1516 in Aragon) and *de facto* succeeded her step-brother, Enrique (r.1454-1474). In Castile, both Isabel and Fernando “could administer justice, jointly or apart”. Isabel “would receive the pledges of royalty, name officials, give grants and sign off on Castile’s accounts”.⁵⁵ She was also actively involved in organising a crusade against the kingdom of Granada, as Fernando had to be in Aragon from time to time.⁵⁶ With the first expansion into the Americas, “Isabel had built a nascent European superpower. More remarkably, she had done this as a woman, inverting the status quo without even challenging it. Isabel had demanded the obedience of men and had received it”.⁵⁷ Isabel, was important not only because she was a queen regnant, but also because she expanded her territory, placing Spain amongst the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, while asserting her personal authority.

However, while ruling female princes were problematic in western Europe, they were even rarer in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁸ The most common case of a female monarch was that of regent, as in the case of Irene of Athens (r.797-802), who after the death of her son Constantine VI, she became an ambitious sole empress, a queen regnant, something completely new for Byzantium, though her reign lasted for only two years.⁵⁹ Tellingly, Irene used a male title to establish herself as a queen regnant, as “Eirene basilissa” and “imperator”.⁶⁰ The male form of the royal title was also used by a Byzantine princess, Theophano, who married in Rome in 972 Otto II, the Holy Roman Emperor (r.973-983) and became queen consort. The couple had a son, Otto III

⁵³ Earenfight, *Queenship*, pp.3-6.

⁵⁴ Wiesner-Hanks, “Women’s Authority”, 30.

⁵⁵ Giles Tremlett, *Isabella of Castile: Europe’s First Great Queen* (London, 2017), p.105.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.208.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.466.

⁵⁸ Alexandra Karagianni, “Female Monarchs in the Medieval Byzantine Court: Prejudice, Disbelief, and Calumnies” in Elena Woodacre, *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York, 2013), 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁶⁰ Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204* (London, 1999), p.87.

(r.996-1002), and after her husband's death in 983, Theophano was queen regent until her own death in 991.⁶¹ She used the title "Theophanius, gratia divina imperator Augustus".⁶² Apart from the Byzantine Empire, there was the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem that was founded as a result of the First Crusade, and more importantly, it allowed inheritance through the female line, a practice that allowed for five female monarchs between 1131 and 1228, albeit they served as co-rulers with male kings.⁶³

By contrast, in Lusignan Cyprus, there was no tradition of female queens regnant before the cases of Charlotte and Caterina. Charlotte was the only legitimate daughter of the king of Cyprus Jean II (r. 1432-1458) and Eleni Palaeologina. Charlotte had been raised in the kingdoms by her parents to become a queen, succeeding her father *de iuris* and reigning between 1458 and 1464. However, she and her husband Louis of Savoy (1436/7-1482) lost the throne to King Jacques II (r. 1463-1473), the illegitimate brother of Charlotte, who became the *de facto* king of the island. Jacques subsequently married Caterina Cornaro, a Venetian noble woman who arrived as a queen in Cyprus in 1472. Caterina had been raised in a noble family without the skills of ruling a kingdom. In Cyprus she was a queen consort for a year and then a regent queen for a further year before her infant son died. During these years, Caterina, was also a diplomatic agent on behalf of the Venetian Republic. She fled the island in 1489 and, like Charlotte, she lived in exile for the rest of her life. These two case studies will illuminate whether, in the late fifteenth-century-Cyprus, gender was more important than rank, and if the two queens acted in ways comparable to male rulers in what was a male dominated system.

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⁶¹ Martin Arbaji, "Theophano" in Christopher Kleinhenz, ed., *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. II L-Z (New York, 2004), 1077.

⁶² Herbert Schutz, *The Medieval Empire in Central Europe: Dynastic Continuity in the Post-Carolingian Frankish Realm, 900-1300* (Cambridge, 2010), p.79.

⁶³ Sara McDougall, *Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800-1230* (Oxford, 2017), p.xiii.

The eastern Mediterranean was evidently a male-dominated world, though before engaging directly with Charlotte and Caterina, it is fundamental to establish a narrative framework and an historical background for Cyprus in its regional context. What is certain is that, although Cyprus was an island in the eastern Mediterranean, because of the Crusades, it had continuous and complex relationships with Europeans arriving from the West, especially from the Italian Peninsula. The history of Cyprus was intimately connected to the Mediterranean and western Europe across our period.

During the middle ages, Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa and Venice were four Italian cities with important commercial interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, signing bilateral agreements with the Byzantine emperors for commercial and financial privileges.⁶⁴ Before the first crusade, Genoa already had commercial contacts with Byzantium and the Muslim powers in the Middle East and Holy Land,⁶⁵ and, as a consequence of the first crusade (1096-1099), Genoa established a commercial base in Jerusalem and tax exemption.⁶⁶ Following the third crusade, between 1189 and 1192, Genoa gained privileges in the coastal towns of Tyre (now in Lebanon) and Acre (now in Israel) and free trade in the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁶⁷

Before 1204, Venice also had commercial relations with Byzantium and the eastern Mediterranean in general.⁶⁸ In 992, for example, Vasileios II gave commercial privileges to the Venetians for their support in southern Italy to repel the Normans, while in 1082, Alexios I Komnenos gave privileges to the Venetians and in 1111 to the Pisans.⁶⁹ From the tenth century, the Venetians

⁶⁴ Νικόλαος Γ. Μοσχονάς, "Οι Ιταλικές Ναυτικές Πολιτείες και ο Ρόλος τους στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο" in Ν. Γ. Μοσχονάς, *Οι Ναυτικές Πολιτείες της Ιταλίας: Αμάλφη, Πίζα, Γένουα, Βενετία και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος / Le Repubbliche Marinare Italiane: Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Athens, 2008), 20.

⁶⁵ Laura Balletto, "Η Γένουα και η Εγγύς Ανατολή κατά τον Όψιμο Μεσαίωνα" in Νικόλαος Γ. Μοσχονάς, *Οι Ναυτικές Πολιτείες της Ιταλίας: Αμάλφη, Πίζα, Γένουα, Βενετία και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος / Le Repubbliche Marinare Italiane: Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Athens, 2008), 144-145.

⁶⁶ Άγγελ Νικολάου-Κονναρή, "Γένουα: Διαμόρφωση της Πολιτείας και Εξωτερική Πολιτική" in Ν. Γ. Μοσχονάς, *Οι Ναυτικές Πολιτείες της Ιταλίας: Αμάλφη, Πίζα, Γένουα, Βενετία και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος / Le Repubbliche Marinare Italiane: Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Athens, 2008), 92-93.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁶⁸ Αναστασία Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Ο Θεσμός των Αστικών Κοινοτήτων στον Ελληνικό Χώρο κατά την Περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (13ος-18ος αι.): Μια Συνθετική Προσέγγιση* (Venice, 2004), p.18.

⁶⁹ Μοσχονάς, "Ιταλικές Ναυτικές Πολιτείες", 20.

started having commercial relations with the Muslim world too.⁷⁰ By the twelfth century, Venice had important settlements in various important Byzantine centres, including Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Crete, Corinth and Alexandria.⁷¹ Venice, along with Genoa and Pisa, became central to the international transit trade, with increasing control of the eastern Mediterranean and Byzantine commerce. Byzantium was, by then, weak financially, politically unstable, and militarily powerless, and it was not a surprise that, in 1204, Constantinople fell.⁷²

After 1204, Venice was a major winner from the disintegration of the Byzantine empire. The new emperor, in a much-reduced territory, was elected by a committee with six Venetian members and six members of the crusades.⁷³ In effect, Venice assumed control of various islands and coastal areas of the Greek mainland.⁷⁴ During the Palaeologian dynasty, Byzantium faced further challenges, not least with Ottoman expansionism, which resulted in the emperor's conceding even more privileges to Genoa in 1261 and Venice in 1265, 1268 and 1277.⁷⁵ Venice and Genoa were, predictably, intense rivals given their conflicting interests and went to war on four occasions (1256-1270, 1294-1299, 1350-1354, and 1378-1381).⁷⁶

The restoration of Byzantium, in 1261, was beneficial for the Genoese and marked a period of growing influence for their part across the empire and the Black Sea.⁷⁷ After Genoa's victory, in 1284, over Pisa a series of events took place; Genoa strengthened its presence and power in the eastern Mediterranean, a condition which was indicated, for example, by the donation of Pera (on the European side of Constantinople) by Michael VIII Palaeologos with

⁷⁰ Αναστασία Παπαδία-Λάλα, "Ο Ελληνοβενετικός Κόσμος (1204-1797): Θεσμοί, Πολιτισμός, Ιδεολογία" in Ν. Γ. Μοσχονάς, *Οι Ναυτικές Πολιτείες της Ιταλίας: Αμάλφη, Πίζα, Γένουα, Βενετία και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος / Le Repubbliche Marinare Italiane: Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Athens, 2008), 195.

⁷¹ Μοσχονάς, "Ιταλικές Ναυτικές Πολιτείες", 19.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 20-23.

⁷³ Άννα Καρακατσούλη, "Συνοπτική Ιστορία του Ευρωπαϊκού Χώρου με Έμφαση στην Ιστορία της Βενετίας (1204-1797)" in Χρύσα Μαλέζου, ed., *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα: Προσεγγίζοντας της Ιστορία της*, Vol. II (Athens-Venice, 2010), 713-714.

⁷⁴ Παπαδία-Λάλα, "Ο Ελληνοβενετικός Κόσμος", 196.

⁷⁵ Μοσχονάς, "Ιταλικές Ναυτικές Πολιτείες", 23-24.

⁷⁶ Καρακατσούλη, "Συνοπτική Ιστορία", 718-720.

⁷⁷ Νικολάου-Κονναρή, "Γένουα", 155.

the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261, ending in this way a Venetian monopoly.⁷⁸ In fact, in the late thirteenth century Genoa had a commercial settlement for Golden Horn, the waterway opposite Constantinople, which steadily became an independent city. Also, the republic took Caffa (also known as Theodosia or Feodosia) a coastal town of Crimea⁷⁹ and established a number of colonies there.

Venice and Genoa were not the only west Mediterranean powers with interests in the east. From 1310 until 1522, the Knights Hospitallers controlled Rhodes, gradually assuming control of most of the Dodecanese.⁸⁰ The Knights of Rhodes never really had close relations with Venice,⁸¹ and in the fifteenth century, Rhodes came under the Aragonical-Catalan sphere of influence.⁸² Meanwhile, the Ottoman sultan with two agreements in 1441 and 1446, recognised the protection of Aragon in the island of Rhodes.⁸³ The Crown of Aragon between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries acquired Valencia, Mallorca, Menorca, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta and Naples and became a strong maritime force with interests in the eastern Mediterranean, having also commercial deals with Alexandria and Beirut.⁸⁴ Temporarily, in the thirteenth century, Athens and Neopatra were also under the control of Aragon, as was Kastellorizo between 1450 and 1522.⁸⁵ In addition, Aragon assumed influence over Kefalonia and Zakynthos from 1357, Corfu and Ithaca, as well as Vonitsa, on the opposite mainland of Epirus, all of which were under the control of the Tocco family, who recognised in the early fifteenth century “the superiority of the Neapolitan king of Aragon”.⁸⁶ Thus, Aragon seized the sea roads in the southern Mediterranean, from Gibraltar to Rhodes.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.102.

⁷⁹ Μοσχονάς, “Ιταλικές Ναυτικές Πολιτείες”, 17.

⁸⁰ Μιγέλ-Άνχελ Οτσόα Μπρουν, *Η Ισπανία και τα Ελληνικά Νησιά: Μια Ιστορική Θεώρηση* (Athens, 2009), p.41.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.46.

⁸² Ibid., p.64.

⁸³ Ibid., p.66.

⁸⁴ Flocel Sabaté, “The Crown of Aragon in Itself and Overseas: A Singular Mediterranean Empire” in Flocel Sabaté, *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire* (Leiden, 2017), 29-35.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 36.

⁸⁷ Οτσόα Μπρουν, *Ισπανία και Ελληνικά Νησιά*, p.64.

Turning now to the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, who had their origins in the Lusignans of Poitiers in France, they had long claimed royal status, since the creation of the kingdom of Cyprus, after Guy I of Lusignan had taken Cyprus in 1292 from the king of England, Richard I who had taken control of the island in the previous year.⁸⁸ In addition to the royal title and the Cypriot kingdom, the Lusignan kings also claimed the title of the kings of Jerusalem, in spite of the fact that Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs in 1291, when they captured Saint Jean of Acre.⁸⁹ From 1393, the Lusignan kings also enjoyed the title of kings of Armenia.⁹⁰ These two titles were used despite the fact that the Lusignans did not actually possess those kingdoms. As it will be seen in Part II, all three Lusignan royal titles (in Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia) were to acquire particular sensitivity and political importance and be instrumental during the early modern period, as focal points of the Venetian-Savoyard rivalries. The situation was complicated further after a Mamluk intervention in Cyprus between 1424 and 1427, in consequence of which the Lusignan kings and then the Venetian Republic started paying an annual tribute to the Sultan of Egypt and then to the Ottomans.⁹¹

Because of the Crusades, Cyprus, as an island that was geographically close to Jerusalem, had continuous and complex contacts with various European kingdoms. Various pilgrims, ambassadors, missionaries, militaries and merchants arrived from the west, especially from Italian states. The majority were Genoese, Venetians and Pisans, who were offered privileges by the Lusignan rulers, seeking to gain political and military support.⁹² Venice and Genoa, especially, competed with each other and both achieved economic and political power in the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus.⁹³ In the thirteenth century, Famagusta was full of merchants from Venice, Pisa, Amalfi, Sicily, Palermo,

⁸⁸ Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Θεσμός Αστικών Κοινοτήτων*, p.131.

⁸⁹ Sylvain Béraud, *Η γαλλική κουλούρα στον κυπριακό χώρο: από το 1192 μέχρι το 1971* (Nicosia, 2008), pp.57-58.

⁹⁰ Evangelia Skoufari, "L'Ordine della Spada: Istituzioni e cerimonie cavalleresche nel Regno di Cipro (secoli XIV-XV)", in *Archivio Veneto*, Serie V-Vol. CLXIX (2007), 5-6; Αγγελική Παντελίδου and Κωνσταντία Χατζηκωστή, *Ιστορία της Κύπρου: Μεσαιωνική-Νεότερη (1192-1974)* (Nicosia, 2009), p.15.

⁹¹ Francisco Apellániz, "An Unknown Minority between the dār al-ḥarb and dār al-islām" in Ruud Peters, A. Keven Reinhart and Nadjma Yassari, eds., *Studies in Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. XL (Leiden, 2017), 171.

⁹² Evangelia Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana (1473-1571): Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011), p.23.

⁹³ Gino Benzoni, "Cipro e Venezia: Qualche appunto", *Studi Veneziani*, XLIII (2002), 69.

Tuscan and Lombardy. The commerce was mainly for the local salt, sugar, oil and wine and for the fabrics and spices coming from the east. In fact, Famagusta was considered as the warehouse of the Levant goods.⁹⁴ In 1218, Alix de Champagne, queen mother and heir guardian of the infant Henri I (r.1218-1253), allowed the Genoese to have tax exemptions and free trade in Cyprus, privileges confirmed in 1232.⁹⁵ However, the prize of Famagusta was too tempting and in 1374 the Genoese captured the port.⁹⁶ In response, the Lusignan kings asked Venice and Milan for support, and King Pierre II married Valentina Visconti, daughter of the duke of Milan, while his sister married Valentina's brother.⁹⁷ In 1377, Milan and Venice signed a peace treaty against Genoa and the two states agreed to liberate the island of Cyprus from the Genoese.⁹⁸ During the resulting war, between 1378 and 1380, Genoa was defeated. As part of the settlement it was agreed that the Cornaro family of Cyprus could use the port of Famagusta, while Venice would stay neutral in a potential war between Cyprus and Genoa.⁹⁹ In 1381 though, Venice and Genoa signed a peace treaty, with the involvement of the duke of Savoy and the Cornaros of Episcopi.¹⁰⁰

Venice, the homeland of Queen Caterina Cornaro, also had significant power on the island, and during the Lusignan period, Venice was actively involved in the politics of Cyprus through financial aid to the Lusignan court.¹⁰¹ There were also wealthy Venetian families supporting Lusignans including members of the Cornaro family, who provided loans to the court.¹⁰² The Cornaro family, ranked amongst Venice's leading families, had for centuries maintained commercial interests in Cyprus in addition to a string of fiefs.¹⁰³ The Cornaros based in Cyprus were known as Corner-Piscopia because of a fief

⁹⁴ Μαίρη Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, *Η Πριγκίπισσα Άννα της Κύπρου: Η Κύπρια Δούκισσα της Σαβοΐας* (Nicosia, 2017), p.23.

⁹⁵ Νικολάου-Κονναρή, "Γένουα", 98.

⁹⁶ Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, Άννα, p.26.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.26.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.26.

⁹⁹ Νικολάου-Κονναρή, "Γένουα", 108.

¹⁰⁰ Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, Άννα, p.27.

¹⁰¹ Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Θεσμός Αστικών Κοινοτήτων*, p.132.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.132.

¹⁰³ Bruno Rosada, *Donne veneziane. Amori e valori. Da Caterina Cornaro a Peggy Guggenheim* (Rilegato, 2005), p.33.

with sugar cane in the area of Episcopi,¹⁰⁴ that had been donated by King Pierre I de Lusignan (r.1358-1369) as a consequence of Federico Cornaro funding and supporting his crusade against Mamluks.¹⁰⁵ In this fief, the Cornaros maintained copper mines, salt flats, wine production, cotton, sugar cane and other agricultural products.¹⁰⁶ Given these feudal and economic interests, the extended Cornaro family unsurprisingly enjoyed considerable power and wealth on the island. Apart from the Cornaro members in Cyprus, there were also members of other prominent Venetian families with interests in the island, notably the Bembos, Contarini and Bragadini.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the Bembo family was related to the Cornaros and both families were also connected to the Lusignan rulers.¹⁰⁸

As for Savoy, the homeland of the parents-in-law of Queen Charlotte of Lusignan (1444-1487), relations were not as intimate with Cyprus and the Lusignan rulers as those of Venice and the Venetian families already mentioned. Relations between the duchy and Cyprus strengthened in 1433, when the fifteen-year-old Princess Anne of Cyprus (1418-1479) left Cyprus to marry Louis, the son of the duke of Savoy Amedeo VIII (Antipope Felix V) and future father-in-law of Charlotte.¹⁰⁹ There were potentially important benefits for Savoy, not least rights over the throne of Cyprus. Amedeo hoped also for a more prominent role in the eastern Mediterranean and even commercial privileges in the local ports, like Venice and Genoa.¹¹⁰

Cyprus was located in a region that from the second half of the fifteenth century was dominated by non-Christian rulers. During the fifteenth century, the three main Muslim powers in Near East were the Mamluks, the Ottomans and the Empire of Iran (the Timurids first, then the Karakoyunlus followed by the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.36.

¹⁰⁵ Αικατερίνη Χ. Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Αρχείο της Βενετίας*, Vol. I (Nicosia, 1990), p.33; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.26.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.26.

¹⁰⁷ Estienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre*. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος (Nicosia, 2004), p.93.

¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Arbel, ed., *Venetian Letters (1354-1512) from the Archives of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and other Cypriot Collections* (Nicosia, 2007), p.40.

¹⁰⁹ Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, *Άννα*, p.10.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.59.

Akkoyunlus and finally the Safavids).¹¹¹ In the early fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire controlled lands in Asia Minor, Africa and Europe, though its power was increasing.¹¹² In 1430, the Ottomans ravaged the city of Thessaloniki, which was under Venetian authority, and thereafter the Venetians had to pay the Ottomans a tribute for the positions of Albania and the region of Central Greece thereafter.¹¹³ Ottoman expansionism was indeed becoming a significant threat for the Italian states and mainly Rome, Venice and Naples.¹¹⁴ Even before then, from the late fourteenth century, the Ottomans had started to have serious conflicts with the Venetians in the Peninsula of Greece, not least following the Ottomans' control of the coast of Hellespont.¹¹⁵

After 1453, the Ottomans were increasingly viewed as a major enemy of Christianity and a threat to regional political balance and security.¹¹⁶ In fact, the Ottomans also destabilised power relations amongst Muslim powers, stoking a rivalry with the Mamluk Empire for supremacy.¹¹⁷ On the one side, the Mamluk sultans underlined the status quo, trying to maintain existing geostrategic balances.¹¹⁸ On the other side, the Ottoman sultans wanted to expand and take control of Mamluk territories, believing that they were “the greatest Islamic sovereign[s]” and “the only legitimate heir[s] to the Roman Empire” after the fall of Byzantium.¹¹⁹ Thus, the frontier between them in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria was fragile, with the Mamluk territories of Syria, Egypt and Hejaz facing risks of capture by the Ottomans.¹²⁰ By 1517, the Ottomans took control of Syria and Egypt and the Ottoman sultan became “the supreme Islamic ruler”.¹²¹

¹¹¹ Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491* (Leiden, 1995), p.1.

¹¹² Paul Wittek, *Η Γένεση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας* (Athens, 1988), p.13.

¹¹³ Ιωάννης Κ. Χασιώτης, *Οι Ευρωπαϊκές Δυνάμεις και η Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία: Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο από το μέσα του 15ου ως τις αρχές του 19ου αιώνα* (Thessaloniki, 2005), p.40.

¹¹⁴ Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (London, 2008), p.3.

¹¹⁵ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.39.

¹¹⁶ Meserve, *Islam*, p.66.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.103-104.

¹²⁰ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.35.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.216.

After the fall of Constantinople, and with the fear of further expansion of the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century, pope Callixtus III (r.1455-1458), Pius II (r.1458-1464) and Sixtus IV (r.1471-1489) unsuccessfully tried to organise a Christian Europe against the Ottomans. Callixtus (r.1455-1458) swore to liberate Constantinople and sought funding to achieve a new crusade against Mehmed,¹²² while in 1459, during the Congress of Mantua, Pius talked about a new crusade, something that might also have enabled him to express the sovereignty of the Church and his power as the universal monarch. However, these efforts indirectly showed the weakness of the papacy.¹²³ Various rulers proved unwilling to participate as they did not want Pius “to fleece them of their wealth”, and were sceptical of the pope’s ability to lead a military campaign; in any case, some felt that the Church should instead focus on its own internal problems.¹²⁴ Subsequent popes similarly sought to organise crusades, though again without success: in 1471, after the fall of Negroponte (Euboea); in 1480 when Rhodes was in danger and Otranto as well;¹²⁵ in 1487, when Innocent issued the bull *Universo pene orbi*; and in April 1489, with a new papal brief.¹²⁶

All these circumstances in the second half of the fifteenth century affected Cyprus’s security, as well as the security of the colonies of western Mediterranean powers. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Genoa steadily lost all its colonies in the East Mediterranean and the Black Sea to the Ottomans,¹²⁷ retaining only the Aegean island of Chios, from 1346 until 1566, when it likewise fell to the Ottomans.¹²⁸ As for Venice, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it had a number of overseas colonies in the Adriatic, Istria, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Albania, and in the Greek peninsula and

¹²² Brett Edward Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 2014), p.183.

¹²³ Emily O'Brien, *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy* (London, 2015), p.87.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹²⁵ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. II. The Fifteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1978), p.364.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.403-405.

¹²⁷ Νικολάου-Κονναρή, “Γένουα”, 109.

¹²⁸ David Brewer, *Greece, the Hidden Centuries: Turkish Rule from the Fall of Constantinople to Greek Independence* (London, 2012), p.53.

islands.¹²⁹ From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, there were seven Venetian-Ottoman wars, which proved to be a considerable strain on the republic, notably as its colonies were logistically distant from one another.¹³⁰

In a still broader context, the Mediterranean faced other challenges as a transit region. With the opening up of new sea routes to India, the region “rapidly entered into a dramatic and irreversible crisis”, while other powers, such as France, England and Holland would later become more wealthy and powerful.¹³¹ Venice, in effect, lost “the monopoly on Oriental goods”.¹³² By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were also influencing the Muslim countries of North Africa driven by their own geopolitical interests.¹³³ A Strategic balance was shifting westwards,¹³⁴ and was reflected in Spain’s increasing interest in the eastern Mediterranean. In fact, from the middle of the fifteenth century, the most important opponent of the Ottomans in the area was no longer Venice but Spain.¹³⁵

* * *

Having considered some of the broad dynamics of queenship in late-medieval and early modern Europe and the geopolitics of the eastern Mediterranean, it is time to focus on the two queens of Cyprus, Charlotte and Caterina. This thesis is innovative firstly because it is the first time that the cases of Caterina and Charlotte, who led parallel lives as queens regnant of Cyprus and then in exile, have been systematically analysed together. The only book dedicated to both queens was written by Karl Herquet in 1870.¹³⁶ However, this book had little pertinence to the research of this thesis, as it mainly presents the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus and focuses on the ruling years of the two queens with

¹²⁹ Benjamin Arbel, “Venice’s Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period” in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 132-136.

¹³⁰ Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Θεσμός Αστικών Κοινοτήτων*, p.19.

¹³¹ Luciano Pezzolo, “The Venetian Economy” in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 255.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 256.

¹³³ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, pp.44-45.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.47.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹³⁶ Karl Herquet, *Charlotta Von Lusignan und Caterina Cornaro: Koniginnen Von Cypem (1870)* (Regensburg, 1870).

some information about Charlotte in exile. There are no facts quoted about Caterina in exile, as the book ends with the end of the Lusignan Kingdom. Also, there is no parallel examination and analysis of the two queens. Therefore, the cases of Charlotte and Caterina, studied in parallel in a comparative systematic approach, is an innovation of this thesis. They lived around the same period of time, they ruled the same island as queens, they both lived in exile in the Italian Peninsula and both died there as queens without heirs, with Caterina's rights passed to Venice and Charlotte's to Savoy. But, although they led parallel lives, their dynamics were far from similar. The comparison examines the influence of character, personality and self-responsibility in their periods of queenship and exile. Their characters and choices were different, and they acted dissimilarly to the challenges they faced during crucial moments of their lives, moments that affected themselves, their images as well as the history of Cyprus. However, the aim of this research is not to judgmentally to accuse the two queens of losing their thrones, but to understand the factors that resulted in those losses and then to place their cases in a wider political and social framework.

With regard to Charlotte, few scholars have written about her, and the majority of them mention her only in a limited context in terms of the history of Cyprus or in the history of Savoy. By contrast, this thesis focuses deeply on the case of Charlotte and provides new evidence about her life, her contemporary and posthumous images and identity in politics and historiography. As for Caterina, there have been various written sources, recollections and histories extending to the twenty-first century. But as above-mentioned, this thesis approaches her in terms of new questions and different methodologies. While most of the studies are biographies about Caterina or histories of Cyprus, this study examines her identity as a queen with the historiography and art history across a *longue durée* of centuries (as it does for Charlotte). In doing so, this thesis furthermore reveals how the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth century of Cyprus is connected not only to the histories of Savoy and Venice, but also, more broadly, to the Mediterranean and European history, something itself neglected in existing accounts. Lastly, the thesis places the cases of Caterina and Charlotte in a wider category of early modern rulers who lost their kingdoms

and lived in exile. So far, studies about European queenship cases barely mention the island of Cyprus and the Lusignan rulers.

Before moving to the structure of this work, it should firstly be mentioned that, for ease of reference, the original names are used where possible. For this reason, the Lusignan kings and queens, including Charlotte, are written in their original French names. However, since Caterina was a Venetian her original Italian name is used despite the fact that the Lusignan dynasty was French and the official language of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus was also French. In contrast, names of people that are already known with the English versions of their names, such as popes, will be presented here in English. Also, the toponyms are mainly used in their modern English forms except for some medieval realms, like Constantinople, Negroponte and Navarre.

In terms of structure, the thesis is organised into three main parts, with two chapters per part. Part I is the foundation for the subsequent two, focusing on the years that the two women were queens regnant in Cyprus and their subsequent exiles. Part II explores the long diplomatic battle between Savoy and Venice for the royal crown of Cyprus, reflecting on the new dimensions of the two queens' identities after their deaths. Part III investigates the iconographies of the two queens in parallel across a long timeframe, until the nineteenth century. At its core, the thesis addresses the following critical questions: what were the images and dynamics of Charlotte and Caterina as queens were during their lifetimes; how those identities changed in literature and in the arts across the centuries; and how Savoy and Venice shaped those identities as part of their competitive strategies to lay claim to the royal titles of those queens?

In all three parts, various primary sources in manuscript form, both printed and visual are used. The present research does not focus on a specific period of time, but starts from the fifteenth up to the nineteenth century, which rendered the collection of the material difficult and time-consuming. The archival data - state and diplomatic documents - were collected mainly from the *Archivio di Stato di Torino* and the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Two archival collections from Savoy, *Materie Politiche-Interno*, *Regno di Cipro* and *Materie Politiche-*

Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia are used for this thesis. The details of the Lusignan period of Cyprus are mainly related to the governance of Charlotte and her husband Louis. The second part highlights the ways in which Savoy tried to benefit from the royal title of Charlotte; there is a significant set of sources for this thesis, including hitherto unused material about the “battle” between Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus, and how Caterina and Charlotte were indirectly presented. From Venice two different collections are used; The *Archivi propri ambasciatori e ambasciate: Archivio proprio Savoia-Torino*, which unfortunately does not include many relevant details about the “battle” between Venice and Savoy over the royal crown of Cyprus. However, relevant information was found in the second collection titled *Consultori in Jure*, a source that includes a series of opinions on matters of competence provided formally to the republic by jurists and other consultants between the years 1606-1797.

To reconstruct the lives and images of the two queens, this thesis does not rely only on the historical archival data (*res gestae*), but also on more relevant fragmentary records that have survived. Through the research of historiography (*historia rerum gestarum*), various recollections have been used like biographies, state and private visual paintings, literature, poems and operas found in various libraries, mainly in Turin (the Biblioteche Reale and Nazionale) and Venice (the Marciana and Correr). The thesis also uses a variety of what can be considered as printed primary sources, including the works of other historians, professional and non-professional, from the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century, who focused on the lives of Charlotte and Caterina, Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus, the history of Venice or the history of Savoy. In addition, modern histories have been used as secondary sources. All these primary and secondary sources do not approach the two queens similarly, but focus on different elements of their lives according to when they were written. They are not necessarily “objective”. They are a confirmation that history can be recorded in more than one way and count as collective memories of different periods of time - these memories are a subject of study too, and also encompass visual sources. Among other things, these sources contribute to a more holistic understanding of the collective, social and political memory of the

queens; accordingly, we can see how the two queens were remembered, constructed and identified as historical and historiographical figures from the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century.

Part I focuses on the dynamics, choices and characters of Caterina and Charlotte as queens regnant in Cyprus and then in exile in a clear chronological framework, to understand how their lives changed over time and how this evolution was connected to major social and political events. The aim is not to write biographies of the two queens, but to re-approach their cases in parallel focusing on their dynamics as queens, understanding their mistakes and misfortunes that had contributed to the losses of their thrones, and explaining how as queens, their rulerships were complicated. The main aim is to explain why, until the end of their lives and even in death, they were considered queens in exile and not just former queens. It should be underlined that this part is the foundation for the other two, as firstly there is primarily a need to understand the background and dynamics of the two as queens in Cyprus and in exile considering the period and the history of the places they lived, highlight the important moments and major events of their lives and place them in the wider context of rulers in exile. What is subsequently analysed are the ways their images were used in diplomacy between Venice and Savoy, as well as in visual and written sources.

Part I, Chapter 1 deals with the case of Charlotte and Chapter 2 focuses on Caterina Cornaro. Both chapters are divided into two subchapters. The first subchapters concentrate on their years as ruling queens, to understand their background and dynamics as queens whilst considering the geopolitical circumstances that affected their rulership. The analysis focuses on the extent of their powers as rulers of Cyprus. Furthermore, Part I considers the extent to which they were able to govern independently or were controlled by others, and the circumstances surrounding the losses of their thrones. The second subchapters of Chapters 1 and 2 examine the two queens as queens in exile. More specifically, they explore the nature of sovereignty in exile, considering whether they were perceived as exiled queens rather than former queens who had forfeited or relinquished, their status and what kind of exile they faced. What is also investigated is the condition of their lives in exile, if they kept their

sovereign status and were recognised as queens in exile by other recognised sovereigns, and whether their efforts to return to the island were successful. As case studies of queens in exile, they are indicative of the phenomenon of exile, and accordingly they will be compared with other rulers who faced exile during the early modern period, so that a contextual framework can be set.

For Part I, various kinds of archival data and collections have been used. In terms of manuscript material, this section makes use of material from *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro* from Turin, which provides relevant archival data that assist in the analysis of the cases of the two queens as rulers of Cyprus and then in exile. Moreover, the edited collections of archival material from Mas-Latrie (1855) and Aristidou (1990) have been used.¹³⁷ Which respect to Mas-Latrie, it is a three-volume-collection source dedicated to the House of Lusignan of Cyprus. Namely, in 1841, there was a competition with the subject “the Franskish Kingdom of Cyprus under the reign of the Lusignans”, announced by the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, which Mas Latrie won in 1843.¹³⁸ His source includes documents for every king and queen with a brief introduction for each document. For the cases of Charlotte and Caterina, this thesis utilises primary sources of this collection from the Archive of Turin (Archivio della corte, *Regno di Cipro*), the Archive of Venice (Archivio generale, *Consiglio dei Dieci, Consiglio dei Pregadi* and *Commemoriali*), the Marciana (fondi Contarini) the Archive of Malta (Archivio dell’ordine) and the Archive of Florence (Archivio dei riformagioni). Aristidou, on the other hand, includes archival documents from the Archive of Venice, the *Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Lettere di Rettori e di altre cariche* and *Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti*.

In addition to these archival sources, the first section makes use of various recollections, mainly chronicles and diaries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These sources, despite providing useful information, have to be used carefully and critically as they were not written by what we might

¹³⁷ Αικατερίνη Χ. Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Αρχείο της Βενετίας*, Vol. I (Nicosia, 1990).

¹³⁸ Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, “Caterina Cornaro goes to the Opera” in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 400.

consider as “professional” historians and their reliability is not always certain (not even when the authors are eye witnesses), as facts are not necessarily provided objectively and real facts cannot be distinguished from hearsay or myth. In terms of Cypriot sources, four different chronicles are used: The first, and most contemporary, was written by Boustronios,¹³⁹ a Hellenised Cypriot chronicler from an aristocratic family, who was connected to the court of Jacques II and was an eye-witness to the facts that he described. Three more chroniclers from Cyprus provide details about the reigns of Charlotte and Caterina. Two of them, dating from the sixteenth century, were Florio Bustron¹⁴⁰ and Stefano Lusignano,¹⁴¹ while the third one is the eighteenth century clergyman Kyprianos¹⁴². Moving on to the fifteenth and sixteenth century recollections from the Italian Peninsula, the first one is *Commentarii*¹⁴³ of Pope Pius II (r. 1458-1464), which provides relevant information mainly about Charlotte, her visit in Rome and the support she received from him. Again, the source is not absolutely objective because of the relations between the papacy and Savoy at the time. Another recollection used is *I Diarii*¹⁴⁴ of Marin Sanudo (1466-1536), a Venetian historian and politician - his diaries include information about Caterina while she was in exile. Especially useful, was also the report of Bernardo Sagredo,¹⁴⁵ the *Provveditore Generale* (military governor) of Cyprus to the Senate, upon his return, which was found in the Marciana in Venice.

Apart from primary manuscript sources, the thesis also uses printed histories. Like chronicles and diaries, the fifteenth and sixteenth century histories are not necessarily unbiased and structured, as they were not privy to the values and assumptions of objectivity, structure and use of sources like the contemporary ones. But, like recollections, they provide relevant information about the two queens. More particularly, there are two official histories of Venice that represent the voice of the official authorities. They were written by

¹³⁹ George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456-1489*. Edited by Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides. Translated by Nicholas Coureas and Hans A. Pohlsander (Nicosia, 2005).

¹⁴⁰ Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*. Edited by René de Mas-Latrie (Milton Keynes, 2011).

¹⁴¹ Estienne de Lusignan, *Chorographia*. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος (Nicosia, 2004); Estienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'île de Cypre*. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος (Nicosia, 2004).

¹⁴² Αρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2001).

¹⁴³ Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II, *I Commentarii*. Edited by Luigi Totaro, II Vols. (Milan, 2008).

¹⁴⁴ Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, Vol. I-X (Venice, 1879-1883).

¹⁴⁵ BNM BS.

the official historiographers Marco Antonio Sabellico (1436-1506)¹⁴⁶ and Pietro Bembo.¹⁴⁷ In terms of Savoy, two anonymous *Trattati* are used, which are political and polemical sources exploring the reasons why the dukes of Savoy claimed that they were the legitimate kings of Cyprus. The first treatise was published in 1594, though it is not clear that it was by order of the Duke Carlo Emanuele. The second, and more important one, was published anonymously in 1633.¹⁴⁸ However, it is known that the author was Pierre Monod (1586-1644), an historian, politician and councillor of Savoy. It includes much more detail compared with the 1594 source, and was commissioned by the then-duke, Vittorio Amedeo I. Another account from Savoy is that of Samuel Guichenon (1607-1664),¹⁴⁹ who, in 1660, wrote the genealogical history of Savoy by order of the Duchess Marie Christine. His account too represents the official voice of Savoy at the time. All the records provided in these sources, recollections and histories contribute to the restoration of the profile of Caterina and Charlotte as queens in Cyprus and exile. Not only are they used carefully and critically, but they are also crosschecked to ensure their reliability, having in mind who wrote them, when, where, why, under what circumstances, for whom and for what audience, wherever that can be answered.

In the recent decades there has been a new interest amongst scholars in the image of Caterina, principally David Hunt and Iro Hunt (1989),¹⁵⁰ Perocco (2011)¹⁵¹ and Hurlburt (2015), the latest source dedicated to Caterina.¹⁵² However, their works are mainly biographical in detail, and not especially informative about Caterina's dynamics as a ruler and the reasons why she was a queen in exile, not a former queen, issues with which this thesis deals. More particularly, Hunt and Hunt focuses on the life of Caterina in Cyprus, Venice and Asolo. The principal primary sources used by these authors are also used for

¹⁴⁶ Marco Antonio Sabellico, *Dell' Historia Venitiana di Marco Antonio Sabellico* (Venice, 1668).

¹⁴⁷ Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice*, Edited by Robert W. Ulery, III Vols. (London, 2007-2009).

¹⁴⁸ Pierre Monod, *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Prencipe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri* (Turin, 1633).

¹⁴⁹ Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Books 1-2 (Lyon, 1660).

¹⁵⁰ David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989).

¹⁵¹ Daria Perocco, ed., *Caterina Cornaro. L' illusione del regno* (Asolo, 2011).

¹⁵² Holly S. Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice: Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus and Woman of the Renaissance* (London, 2015).

this thesis, such as Pius, Boustronios, Bustron, Lusignan, Kyprianos, Bembo, Sanudo, Colbertaldo, Monod and the collection of archival material edited by Mas-Latrie. However, the purpose of this thesis in using the same sources is not to include every detail about the Caterina as a queen, but, as already mentioned, to analyse her dynamics, capacities and mistakes as both queen and queen in exile, and furthermore to explore whether she was a full queen while in exile. Perocco's source is a collection of articles about Caterina providing relevant information about her. Particularly useful for this part of the thesis were the articles of Skoufari and Dissegna who include details about Caterina's court in Cyprus and Asolo respectively. Hurlburt's book is the most recent work dedicated to Caterina and was written at the same time as this thesis. It presents the history of Caterina as queen of Cyprus, Daughter of Venice and Lady of Asolo and it also includes some of the iconography and written sources of the queen. Mainly, it deals with the issue of Venetian control, the family pressures and her challenges as a queen and in her later life as well.

The thesis is an original contribution to constructing the lives and identities of the two queens in a parallel analysis. As their lives are presented and analysed in Part I, the main focus of the other two parts is on posthumous images of the queens, the identities after their deaths in diplomacy between Venice and Savoy and their iconographies. In this way, this thesis examines for the first time how their identities evolved, and when, why, under what circumstances and by whom, this occurred. The purpose of Part II is to shed new light on the images of the two queens after their deaths, mainly via state archival documents. Charlotte had passed her rights from Cyprus to Savoy in 1485, while Caterina had officially donated the kingdom to Venice in 1489. Accordingly, both Savoy and Venice could claim their rival rights over Cyprus.

Therefore, Part II focuses on official state documents from Venice and Savoy, dating from the end of the queens' lives, and encompassing a much longer period until the Italian Unification in the late nineteenth century. The main purpose of this part is to analyse the questions of how, why and when the two queens became political tools for Venice and Savoy, and when and how each state claimed royal rights over Cyprus. A good reason for Savoy to claim its royal rights was after 1570 as a consequence of the duke of Florence Cosimo I

(r. 1537-1574) being crowned grand-duke of Tuscany in the Vatican Palace's *Sala Regia*. The thesis considers how this change affected Savoy and how this paved the way for the Savoyard dukes' formal claim to the title of Cyprus. It also delves into the ways they used to accomplish it, what arguments they had and how strong and solid these were. Furthermore, the thesis examines how they tried subsequently to justify the use of the title, and what international support, if any, they had. Besides the aforementioned issues, this section also explains how Charlotte's identity was used in this strategy in order to gain royal recognition, according to the surviving archival data, the official histories of Savoy and Savoyard *Trattati*. Venice lost the control of Cyprus to the Ottomans in 1571 and the thesis examines how Venice reacted to the Savoyard claim, and how important it was for Venice. Under these circumstances, Savoy had to work harder, and for a long time, to achieve that royal recognition. This thesis examines which dukes tried to achieve it in the next two centuries, why and what were the circumstances at the time. The first one was Vittorio Amedeo I (r. 1630-1637) who finally claimed, in 1633, the royal title of Cyprus with the clear aim of becoming a king. As part of his strategy, apart from the Cypriot royal title, he also started using the coat of arms of Cyprus. The thesis explores why he acted like that and what strategic steps he followed in his effort to achieve that aim. For instance, it is unravelled why both the title and the coat of arms were placed on coins, on building exteriors and interiors, in frontispieces of books and inside written sources that were explaining why the duke was the king of Cyprus. The thesis also considers Venice's response, marking the peak of the Savoyard-Venetian diplomatic "battle", which at the same time, it assesses the different responses of different dukes of Savoy and considers how Venice tried to handle the situation, until its fall. Of course, the principal aim behind this examination of the Venetian-Savoyard rivalry is to present and analyse the hidden identities of Charlotte and Caterina. Because of the duchy's proclaimed pre-eminence, the histories of Caterina and Charlotte as well as the way in which they were re-approached in the early seventeenth century will be explained. It will also be examined how they became in effect political vehicles in order to serve purposes that were totally unrelated to them. So, a principal aim is to see how Venice and Savoy benefited from the royal rights of Caterina and Charlotte respectively in the short term, and how, in the longer term, into

the eighteenth century, the two queens were used by the two states. Over a period spanning three centuries, Venice and Savoy were only interested in their royal rights, not in keeping alive the memory or perpetuating the reputations, of the two queens for their own sakes. What was mainly vital was the royal title, the stories of the two queens are indirectly concealed and these identities are the subject matter in Part II of the thesis.

Part II is separated into two chapters. Chapter 3 focuses on Savoy, Venice and the Crown of Cyprus between 1485 and 1630, during which Savoy never claimed officially their royal rights from Charlotte's donation, and is separated in two parts. The first part deals with the years from 1489 until 1571, the years of Venetian control. The second part concentrates on the period between the loss of Venetian control of Cyprus and the Savoyard official claim of the royal title of Cyprus in 1633. Chapter 4 is centered on Savoy, Venice and the Crown of Cyprus from 1630 until 1796, when Venice fell. This period is addressed in a separate chapter, as Savoy finally claimed its royal rights over the Cyprus Crown and the "battle" between Venice and Savoy was at its peak. The last part focuses on Duke Vittorio Amedeo I of Savoy (1630-1637), who officially claimed the crown and examines the period up to the fall of Venice. In these years, relations between Venice and Savoy were complicated because of their rival claims to the royal title, though without the tensions of the early seventeenth century.

In terms of the archival material used here, although there are various historical studies concerning relations between Venice and Cyprus, the *Consultori in Jure* from the archive of Venice has never been used by historians relating to the History of Cyprus and the diplomatic "battle" between Venice and Savoy, and I thank my supervisor, Toby Osborne, for sharing this material with me (he will be using the material for his own research into royalty in early modern Italy). Equally, the dissertation makes use of *Materie Politiche-Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia*, from the archive of Savoy, which hitherto has been used only once, by Mongiano, as it will be explained further on. This section also draws on the *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro* from Turin, used also in Part I. Unfortunately, the *Archivi propri ambasciatori e ambasciate: Archivio proprio Savoia and Savoia-Torino* in Venice do not provide any relevant

information about the rivalry between Venice and Savoy. Apart from the archival data, two modern editions of primary material were used and these are the 1901 source of Arturo Segre¹⁵³ and the 1983 book of Luigi Firpo.¹⁵⁴ These editions include various *Relazioni* of Venetian ambassadors in Savoy, which are very useful for understanding the battles between Venice and Savoy. Moreover, the secondary sources also used the political and polemical Savoyard published *Trattati* already mentioned meaning the 1594 anonymous source, Monod and the History of Savoy written by Guichenon. This section also uses the 1633 reply to Monod written by Gasparo Giannotti,¹⁵⁵ which explores why the descendants of Charlotte had no right to use the royal title of Cyprus. All these sixteenth and seventeenth century sources were not politically accurate, so their evidence and points were used carefully and critically.

Two useful modern secondary sources for this part are the modern articles “L’acquisizione del titolo regio. I Savoia e la corona di Cipro” of Elisa Mongiano and “I Savoia e il regno di Cipro. Dispute e relazioni diplomatiche per conquistare il titolo regio” of Gustavo Mola di Nomaglio, both published in a 1997 collection edited by Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna.¹⁵⁶ The historiographical points that these two articles raise are different than the ones of this dissertation. To start with, Nomaglio’s article focuses on the relations between the Lusignan kingdom and Savoy in the fourteenth century and the wedding between Anne of Cyprus and Duke Louis, the wedding of their son Louis to Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, with some brief information about the seventeenth and eighteenth century argument between Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus. Mongiano’s article starts with the fifteenth century relations between the dukes of Savoy and the Lusignan rulers and then narrates briefly how the royal title was acquired. Also included are details regarding the peak of the “battle” in 1630s, the end of the “battle” by Marie-

¹⁵³ Arturo Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e la Repubblica di Venezia (1545-1580)* (Venice, 1901).

¹⁵⁴ Luigi Firpo, *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983).

¹⁵⁵ Gasparo Giannotti, *Parere di Gasparo Giannotti Scritto al Signor Giulio Cesare Catelmi, sopra il Ristretto delle Revoluzioni del Reami di Cipri, e ragioni della Serenissima Casa di Savoia sopra di esso; insieme con un breve trattato del titolo Regale dovuto a S.A. Serenissima, stampati in Turino senza nome d Autore* (Frankfurt am Main, 1633).

¹⁵⁶ Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’ Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997).

Christine in the 1640s, the acquisition of the royal title of the king of Sicily in 1713 and the exchange of it for the royal title of Sardinia in 1720. While these two articles are relevant to the subject presented in Section II of this thesis, they do not include the primary sources from the archive of Turin fundamental for Section II, from *Materie Politiche-Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia* and *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro*. Although Mongiano used some parts of those sources, he barely used them when writing about the 1530 coronation of the Emperor Charles in Bologna, when Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-1534) formally approved the title of the kings of Cyprus to the dukes of Savoy. The main focus of Part II of this thesis is different from all the above sources. The aim is not to present the facts that are already known from other sources, but to bring to light the official documents from the duchy of Savoy, which illuminate how the duchy sought to gain royal recognition from Venice because of the royal title of Cyprus. In this way, from the archive of Turin various letters between the duke of Savoy, other Savoyard authorities and their ambassadors in Venice are presented for the first time. At the same time, again via the relevant primary sources from Venice, the thesis examines Venice's responses to the Savoyard claims from the fifteenth century until the fall of the republic in 1797 and the Italian Unification in late nineteenth century. This is the main aim of Section II of this study, and it has to be underlined that it is systematically achieved for the first time.

After presenting and analysing in parallel the political images of Caterina and Charlotte, Part III of the present work deals with the politics of their images exploring their material and cultural iconographies in Cypriot and Italian sources. Again, the presentation is in a parallel way, affording a deeper understanding of the evolution of their images through the centuries. The range and variation of the sources is considerable, encompassing historical sources and recollections like chronicles, biographies, poems, literature, operas and visual sources, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. All these sources are cross-examined and cross analysed with an explanation, where this is possible, of the political background during the period of time they were created. Quite how these constructed images differed from the historical queens will comprise the core of this section. It should be noted that the evidence was

not always politically accurate and the creation of the sources may be attributed to partial reasons, which have to be noted while presenting the images of the queens. Therefore, what will be discussed in this research is how Caterina and Charlotte were constructed through the aforementioned sources, if their images were in anyway controlled by Venice and Savoy respectively and if the political circumstances affected those images. By analysing the identities of Caterina and Charlotte in those sources, the thesis also examines in what ways they changed, why, under what circumstances, who constructed them (where known), and for whom they were made for (where known). While painters, poets and authors of literature recycled similar narratives, they also altered the original histories, characters and even appearances of the queens, giving emotional dimensions or ceremonial aspects to their characterisations. As for chronicles and biographies, which we might suppose aimed to retell historical facts with a degree of verisimilitude, the authors repeatedly manipulated their accounts to accentuate the facts that they considered most noteworthy. Accordingly, this part of the research explores the different ways the two queens are constructed in those sources, and how those constructions differed over time and from one kind of source to the other. The challenges for the historian using those different kinds of sources are to separate carefully what is historically accurate from what is based on the imagination. The primary material used in Part III includes sources collated from various libraries mainly in Venice and Turin, alongside other types of primary material, such as portraiture, literature, poetry and operas. The attempt to use these sources and the effort to reconstruct the queens by looking at how other people were looking at their images is challenging. The thesis explores how much these sources are influenced by the original background of the two queens of Cyprus and in which cases the sources are based on imagination. At the same time, in all these different kinds of sources, the aspects of the personalities of Caterina and Charlotte, what moments of their lives they are focused on and what are the emotional dimensions or symbolic meanings are will be analysed.

Chapter 5 examines the images and iconographies of both Caterina and Charlotte during their lifetimes, to understand their contemporary status and the ways they were seen by others, while they were still queens or queens in exile.

The chapter is separated in two subchapters, one for each queen. The section draws on recollections contemporary to the queens, starting with the oldest chronicle coming from Cyprus, written in the fifteenth century by a local noble called Leontios Machairas, which includes information about the early years of Charlotte.¹⁵⁷ However, the section principally uses the chronicle of Boustronios, Pope Pius II's autobiography and the diaries of the Venetian Marino Sanudo. Information is also included from the official histories of Venice from Marco Antonio Sabellico and Pietro Bembo. Chapter 6 presents the images of the two queens in the later centuries, separated in two subchapters, one for the written sources related to Cyprus and the other for the Italian sources. Nonetheless, because of the amount of sources, the last subchapter is itself divided from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries to facilitate a clearer understanding of the evolution of the images of the two queens in parallel across the period. Each category of source is analysed carefully, thinking not only of their characteristics, but also the circumstances of the time in which they were written. For example, the sixteenth and seventeenth century biographers could be full of praise for Caterina, as a means of praising Venice, or because their authors were under instruction from the extended Cornaro family. In this chapter, the two queens are presented through the Cypriot chronicles of Bustron, Lusignano and Kyprianos. Continuing with the primary sources coming from the Italian Peninsula, there is only one dedicated to Charlotte, a biography written in Rome by Giacomo Grimaldi in 1621.¹⁵⁸ This unique source of Charlotte is a very short manuscript and does not detail her character and personality as a ruling and exiled queen. On the contrary, there are various written recollections dedicated to Caterina. The first biography dedicated to her was written by the Asolian nobleman Antonio Colbertaldo (1556-1602) at the end of the sixteenth century¹⁵⁹; another was written anonymously in the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, a 1652 comedy written by Marc'Antonio Nali,¹⁶¹ the 1783 tragedy of Vincenzo Formaleoni,¹⁶² various poems including

¹⁵⁷ Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου-Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*. Edited by Μιχάλης Πιερής and Αγγέλ Νικολάου-Κονναρή (Nicosia, 2003).

¹⁵⁸ BRT GG.

¹⁵⁹ Daria Perocco, ed., *Antonio Colbertaldo. Storia di Caterina Corner, Regina di Cipro: La prima biografia* (Asolo, 2011).

¹⁶⁰ AMA An, unpaginated.

¹⁶¹ Marc' Antonio Nali, *La Regina di Cipro. Historia. Libri quattro*. (Padua, 1652).

the 1840 sonnet of Gaetano Nava¹⁶³ and a libretto written by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges presented in five different opera versions, such as in Naples by Gaetano Donizetti¹⁶⁴ are also utilised. Apart from the written primary sources, there are also some visual representations of Charlotte and many of Caterina across the centuries. As background information of the paintings does not usually survive, the focus will mainly be on the subjects of the paintings, showing Charlotte mainly in the Vatican and Caterina either as a modest queen or as a Venetian lady who glorified Venice to the utmost. All these works, written and visual, show at a considerable historical distance, how various authors and artists were inspired mainly by the story of Caterina and framed her in cultural conventions recognisable to nineteenth century audiences.

Secondary sources that provide relevant information for this part of the thesis are three collections of articles, Perocco's 2011 book, Hurlburt's book (2015) and Syndikus (2013).¹⁶⁵ Perocco's article is important for this thesis in that it presents Caterina between biography and myth, including information about paintings, texts, poems and operas dedicated to Caterina. In Syndikus' collection of articles Molteni presents the iconography of Caterina in the sixteenth century, while Syndikus' own article includes paintings from later centuries. Relevant information about Caterina's paintings is also included in Hurlburt's book. To continue, the articles of Jacobshagen and Nikolaou-Konnari in Syndikus' collection focus on the operas dedicated to Caterina with information about the librettos, the composers, the audience and the stages the operas were presented. Although all the three secondary sources provide useful information, they do not address the same questions as this thesis. They do not unfold the personality and identity of Caterina and how her image, story, and identity evolved across the period as a whole. These are some of the historiographical gaps this thesis addresses and they matter, as they can enlighten the image of the queen that survived through the centuries in

¹⁶² Vincenzo Formaleoni, *Caterina Regina di Cipro. Tragedia in cinque atti in verso sciolto: Rappresentata nel Teatro S. Luca di Venezia nel Carnovale dell'anno 1783* (Venice, 1783).

¹⁶³ Gaetano Nava, *Sonetto di Caterina Cornaro* (Milan, 1840).

¹⁶⁴ Gaetano Donizetti, *Caterina Cornaro, Tragedia Lirica in un prologo e due atti di Giacomo Sacchero, Revisione di Rubino Profetta - Orchestra e Coro di Torino della RAI Elio Boncompagni* (Turin, 1974).

¹⁶⁵ Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013).

literature and art, how the visual images connect to the one presented in the written sources, how close this image is from the original and how the political circumstances could affect or not the portrayal of Caterina in literature and art.

In conclusion, the thesis systematically explores in a parallel way the lives and identities of the two queens regnant of Cyprus in diplomacy, literature and art. Part I of this thesis analyses deeply the life of Charlotte of Lusignan, both as queen regnant and in exile and compares her case with the one of Caterina Cornaro. Apart from the seventeenth-century-manuscript of Giacomo Grimaldi, there is no other source dedicated to Charlotte, not even a modern one. Accordingly, this thesis is novel in its presentation of Charlotte in Cyprus and in exile as a pawn in the claims of Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus, and as a queen whose story is indirectly mentioned in many manuscripts of Savoy relating to the “battle” with Venice. As for Caterina, although there are various biographies dedicated to her, the way she is presented here is different. This thesis addresses different questions from other sources, such as the dynamics of these two queens as rulers, how their lives changed while they were in exile and also how they retained their status as queens while in exile. No existing study has focused directly on the lives and images of these two queens who lived parallel lives but had such different stories. No historical study hitherto has presented the lives of the two queens in Cyprus and in exile and place their cases to the wider historiography of Early Modern Queenship. Moreover, Part II explores the “battle” between Savoy and Venice, mainly through archival material presenting the evolution of their long-term rivalry and explaining its ups and downs across each period of time. These are presented in the official documents and correspondence of Savoy and Venice. Finally, Part III analyses how the two queens were presented in the surviving chronicles from Cyprus and also explains, century by century, the evolution of the images of the two queens through visual and written sources from the Italian Peninsula. Their histories have never been explored in parallel through literature and art, and nor have they been considered over such a long period of time. For all the above reasons, the approach of this thesis is near-unique. In general, this thesis presents, for the first time, a parallel history of Charlotte and Caterina as queens of Cyprus and as exiled rulers posthumously via the “battle” between

Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus. Thus, the politics of their queenships and identities in Cyprus and Italy begins in 1458, when Charlotte became a queen and continues up to 1861, the year that Vittorio Emanuele II (r. 1861-1878) became king of Italy.

Part I

The dynamics of queenship

Chapter 1

Charlotte of Lusignan in Cyprus and in exile

The Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus was established in 1197 with Frankish nobles and knights arriving in the twelfth century. Gradually, more Franks arrived as refugees after the fall of the crusader kingdoms, in addition to Venetians, citizens of other Italian states and Catalans. All of them, together with ‘Syrians’ (a term that encompassed ‘heretics’, that is, non-orthodox Christians from the areas around Cyprus) and noble Cypriots gravitated around the court, all of which were men.¹ Part I of this thesis examines whether Charlotte and Caterina had the necessary political skills and military wisdom to rule a male-dominated country as Cyprus’s first (and only) queens regnant (1458-1464 Charlotte’s reign and 1472-1489 Caterina’s) and their subsequent years in exile (1464-1487 for Charlotte and 1489-1510 for Caterina).

It is critical to understand the background of the two queens as this provides answers to the key questions of how independent they were as female rulers of Cyprus, what difficulties they faced related to their gender, what mistakes they made in politics while they were governing, how able they were to deal with military issues, and the extent to which Charlotte was controlled by Savoy and Caterina by Venice. Emphasis is also given on the exile years of the two queens, where the main aim is to analyse whether, if at all, they should be considered as queens in exile or, merely, as former queens who, in effect, had forfeited their sovereignty. In fact, this is one of the main questions of the thesis as a whole - an examination of the nature of queenship and of how queenship was sustained; however, this cannot be achieved without, first, providing an overview what being in exile involved.

Exile was a political process that had a long history. In Classical Athens “exile was the price exacted for political failure”,² while citizens could be officially expelled through voting from the city via the preventive application of ostracism.³ In ancient Rome exile - “exilium” - could be permanent or

¹ Αναστασία Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Ο Θεσμός των Αστικών Κοινοτήτων στον Ελληνικό Χώρο κατά την Περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (13ος-18ος αι.): Μια Συνθετική Προσέγγιση* (Venice, 2004), p.134.

² Jean Simpson, *The Oxford Book of Exile* (London, 2002), p.39.

³ Άννα Ραμού-Χαψιάδη, *Από τη φυλετική κοινωνία στην πολιτική: Πολιτειακή εξέλιξη της Αθήνας* (Athens, 1982), pp.172-173.

temporary⁴ and was mainly related to the elites.⁵ It could be a penalty for criminal actions, or it could be by design.⁶ In fact, various elite Romans voluntarily left the city to avoid the death penalty resulting from legal prosecution.⁷ For example, the Roman orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) chose in 58 B.C. to enter exile to avoid a death penalty,⁸ as the tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher (93-52 B.C.) had proposed a new law punishing those who had executed someone without trial; Cicero had executed the conspirators of the Catilinian Conspiracy.⁹ He left Rome and went to Greece¹⁰ for a year and a half as he was in danger.¹¹ All this time, he worked to return back to his city.¹² He did manage that, having as mediators Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey) (106-48 B.C.) amongst others.¹³

In terms of medieval and post-medieval Europe, exile can also be divided in two categories: by coercion or design¹⁴ and sometimes entailed external exile, beyond a state's borders.¹⁵ Although the word exile is often unjustifiably linked with punishment and isolation, this was rarely the case.¹⁶ Exiled princes for example, did not necessarily have financially poor lives.¹⁷ For example, Marie de Medici was heir guardian of her son Louis XIII (r.1610-1643). In 1617, she was temporarily exiled by her son in Blois against her will. But as a widow of Henri IV (r.1589-1610) and queen mother of Louis, she was respected and

⁴ Gordon Kelly, *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2006), p.2.

⁵ Lesley Adkins and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome: Updated Edition* (New York, 2004), p.391.

⁶ Kelly, *A History of Exile*, p.3.

⁷ Ibid., p.1.

⁸ Ibid., p.1.

⁹ Henriette van der Blom, *Oratory and Political Career in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2016), p.185.

¹⁰ Henriette van der Blom, *Cicero's Role Models: The Political Strategy of a Newcomer* (Oxford, 2010), p.194.

¹¹ Kelly, *A History of Exile*, p.1.

¹² Ibid., p.1.

¹³ Blom, *Cicero's Role Models*, p.194.

¹⁴ Toby Osborne, "Going in to Exile: by Coercion or Design?", Conference Paper "Displayed Identities. Exile in Early Modern Europe: 1550-1715" (York, 2006), 1.

¹⁵ Toby Osborne, "Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems: French Exiles in the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years' War", *The Seventeenth Century*, XV No. 2, (2000), 155.

¹⁶ Christine Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1-2.

¹⁷ Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac "Jacobites in Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye" in Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp, eds., *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995), 18.

allowed to have a court and she was able to go to the theatre and participate in hunting.¹⁸

To retain status, exiled princes might maintain powerful friends, seek allies and supporters, and might hope for financial support from their hosts¹⁹ or even exploit exile as a release and a chance to be successful away from their home countries.²⁰ Rulers in exile were often well-treated, and did not necessarily lose their prior honour, while hosts often felt compelled to provide support to them.²¹ Life in exile was conditioned by various circumstances, such as the person's character, interests and ambitions. Equally major were the background and the income, and sometimes even good fortune. Personality was so significant that the life in exile could differ from case to case. There were miserable exiles that could not bear to be expatriated, ambitious exiles that built a new life for themselves and others, whose sole aim was to return back home and take revenge against those who forced them into exile.²² Rarely, did exiles receive military help that they did not themselves reimburse.²³ Isabel of Castile and Charlotte of Cyprus were involved in warfare.

As it will be seen, Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro faced external exile, and their examples can be contextualised with the typologies of rulers in exile mentioned above. Although they both abandoned Cyprus and lived in external exile, their circumstances differed significantly and the two led very different lives from the ones to which they were accustomed as ruling queens. It was certainly the case that they both kept the title of the queen of Cyprus, Armenia and Jerusalem until their deaths, while they were also recognised by other rulers; they also maintained courts although they were smaller than the ones they had in Cyprus, that is to say, household retinues for both queens and also high-ranking guests for Caterina. In other words, they had at least some of the markers of sovereignty, reminding us of the ambiguous

¹⁸ Julian Swann, *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610-1789* (Oxford, 2017), p.38.

¹⁹ Shaw, *The Politics of Exile*, p.2.

²⁰ Simpson, *The Oxford Book*, p.207.

²¹ Shaw, *The Politics of Exile*, pp.1-2.

²² *Ibid.*, pp.110-111.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.201.

effects of exile on princely status. All these characteristics will be analysed in detail chronologically for two reasons. First, a chronological approach clarifies the presentation and understanding of their lives. Second, the analysis of the life-profiles of the two queens provides the basis for subsequent parts of this dissertation.

Focusing, initially, on the exiled experience of Charlotte, history provides similarities with Juana, daughter of Enrique IV of Castile (r.1454-1474) and Juana of Portugal, who will serve as the principal points of comparison. In 1470, in Lozoya Valley, Enrique, then at war with his stepsister, Isabel, announced that his eight-year-old daughter Juana would become his heiress and would marry Charles of Valois, the duke of Berry, heir of the kingdom of France, who would also be king of Spain.²⁴ Both Juana and Charlotte were thus legitimate heirs, chosen by the ruling kings with husbands who were also approved by ruling kings. Both Charlotte and Juana lost their thrones (Charlotte became queen regnant for a while, Juana never did) to usurpers (stepbrother Jacques for Charlotte, aunt Isabel for Juana), and both experienced civil wars. In 1475, soon after Isabel's *de facto* accession, the Portuguese king, Afonso V, who, in the same year, married his niece, the aforementioned Juana left Portugal with his army as he moved towards Palencia to fight for his rights.²⁵ After Isabel's proclamation, the partisans of her niece Juana, who did not want to be ruled by the king of Aragon²⁶ and the king of Portugal, continued the civil war that Enrique had started.²⁷ There were two civil wars, between *de iuris* and *de facto* rulers and in both cases the military power "won" legitimacy.

However, although Charlotte never recognised Jacques as king of Cyprus, Juana's sided with Isabel. In 1479, the Portuguese king sent infanta Beatriz of Braganza, Juan's sister-in-law and aunt of Isabel, to negotiate the peace with the usurper Isabel. It was agreed that Isabel would keep the throne if she would bribe Juana's supporters, pardon the rebels, and if she would respect the

²⁴ Giles Tremlett, *Isabella of Castile: Europe's First Great Queen* (London, 2017), pp.72-73.

²⁵ Govert Westerveld, *The Birth of a New Bishop in Chess* (Blanca, 2015), p.14.

²⁶ Ethan Malveaux, *The Color Line: A History: The Story of Europe and the African from the Old World to the New* (New York, 2015), p.543.

²⁷ Theresa Earenfight, "Juana de Castilla" in Silvio A. Bedini (ed.), *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, Vol. I (Basingstoke, 1992), 398.

borders with Portugal. Juana decided to get engaged to the son of Isabel and Fernando, Juan. Until he reached the age of fourteen, Juana would stay either “in semi confinement” or enter a convent in Portugal. She chose the second. Another wedding agreement was made, by which, Isabel, daughter of Isabel and Fernando would be engaged to Prince Alfonso.²⁸ Thus, the civil war finished in 1479,²⁹ and with the Treaty of Alcáçovas of 1481, the war of the succession in Castile was ended.³⁰ Juana, in effect a queen in exile, kept the title of queen of Castile until her death.³¹ The same was true for both Charlotte and Caterina.

One more queen in exile (although in internal exile) was Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, who married, in 1501 Arthur, the eldest son of the king of England Henry VII (r.1485-1509). After his death, she married, in 1509, his younger brother, Henry VIII (r.1509-1547).³² Catherine became queen consort in England, but her only surviving child was a daughter, Princess Mary - Henry wanted a male heir. Following the divorce, Catherine of Aragon (r.1509-1533) was, in effect, in internal exile, between 1533 and 1536, displaced by Henry from one palace to the other. Until the end of her life in 1536, she never recognised Anna Boleyn as the new wife of Henry and queen of England believing that she was the only legitimate wife.³³

Another comparable case study, albeit as a male prince in exile, was that of James III (1688-1766), the son of the Stuart king of England, James II (r. 1685-1688), both of whom were “hereditary monarchs, replaced by a rival dynasty”.³⁴ As James III lived in exile in Rome too, his life bears many similarities to that of Charlotte. To start with, while living in Rome he was recognised as king of England by no fewer than six popes: Clement XI (r. 1700-

²⁸ Tremlett, *Isabella*, pp.171-172.

²⁹ Ibid., p.197.

³⁰ Ibid., p.241.

³¹ Earenfight, “Juana”, 398.

³² Helen Matheson-Pollock “Counselloresses and Court Politics: Mary Tudor, Queen of France and Female Counsel in European Politics, 1509-15” in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 61-62.

³³ Timothy G. Elston, “Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536)”, in Diana Robin, Anne R. Larsen, and Carole Levin, eds., *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England* (Santa Barbara, California, 2007), pp.67-68.

³⁴ Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011), p.12.

1721), Innocent XIII (r. 1721-1724), Benedict XIII (r. 1724-1730), Clement XII (r. 1730-1740), Benedict XIV (r. 1740-1758) and Clement XIII (r. 1758-1769).³⁵ While in exile, James III also maintained a functioning court³⁶ like Charlotte, as it will be explained, although the details known about her court are, by comparison, sporadic and biased and the principal sources being polemical books, diaries, letters and official documents from Savoy. Moreover, James III was given a pension and a residence in Rome at the papacy's expense. At the same time, he was treated with generosity and received royal honours from six popes as if his family was still a ruling family.³⁷ For all these reasons, James's story resonates with the ways Pope Pius II (r. 1458-1464) and Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484) welcomed and accommodated Charlotte in Rome. Furthermore, James III maintained important friends in Europe³⁸ as Charlotte had allies, such as King Ferdinando of Naples (r. 1458-1494). Finally, when James II died, Clement XIII "determined that he would be given a magnificent state funeral with full royal honours as *de jure* king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and that he would be buried in the Basilica of St Peter's at the Vatican".³⁹ Again, this bears comparison with Innocent VIII's (r. 1484-1492) authorization of Charlotte's funeral around three centuries earlier and his recognition of her, even on her death as the legitimate queen of Cyprus.

Caterina's case as an exile is not unique either. She left the island of Cyprus, donating the kingdom to her motherland, Venice. In this way, she left the rulership on her own, not by coercion, but she kept the royal title while she was in exile. The same can be said about Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), the only daughter of the king of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1632-1654) who succeeded her father as a queen regnant and sole ruler in 1632.⁴⁰ In 1654, at the age of twenty-eight, she abdicated the throne to her cousin Charles X Gustav (r. 1654-1660) after secretly converting to Catholicism. Christina stayed in France and then in Rome where she died. Despite being in exile, she

³⁵ Ibid., p.17.

³⁶ Ibid., p.11.

³⁷ Ibid., pp.10, 17.

³⁸ Ibid., p.11.

³⁹ Ibid., pp.17, 239.

⁴⁰ Craig A. Doherty and Katherine M. Doherty, *Delaware* (New York, 2005), p.21.

was treated well by the Papal court.⁴¹ In Rome, she did not have a poor life, living in Palazzo Riario and Accademia dell’Arcadia, while also she became a patron of various arts and musicians, and funded the building of Rome’s first public opera house.⁴² As it will be illustrated in this section, Caterina did not have a common life either, residing in palaces in Asolo and Venice, while maintaining a court that included as briefly mentioned, household organisations and court guests, including artists, musicians and writers.

Section I of this thesis is divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 presents Queen Charlotte of Lusignan’s life as queen regnant of Cyprus and then as a queen in exile, while Chapter 2 correspondingly deals with Caterina Cornaro as a queen and exile. To begin, Charlotte, was the only princess of pure royal blood as the sole legitimate daughter of the king of Cyprus Jean II of Lusignan (r. 1432-1458) and also wife of Louis from Savoy and count of Genoa (1436/7-1482), the son of Duke Louis of Savoy. Chapter 1 will address the role of gender, Charlotte’s capacity in politics and military as a female ruler in Cyprus, what kind of allies and enemies she had, what misfortunes she faced and what kind of mistakes she made that contributed to the loss of the throne to her illegitimate stepbrother Jacques II. Jacques was supported by Enal, sultan of Egypt and feudal overlord of the island of Cyprus to whom the Lusignan kings paid an annual tribute. In her efforts to secure supporters to regain her throne, Charlotte went into a self-imposed exile. The principal aim was to demonstrate that she considered herself, and was treated accordingly, as, a queen in exile and not just a former queen. This fact will become, in particular more evident through the welcoming she received when she visited Pope Pius II, and likewise when she visited her father-in-law in Savoy, where she signed a will leaving her kingdom, in case of dying without a successor, to Savoy. A crucial aspect of her story as a queen in exile is the fact that she maintained the right to be called “queen of Cyprus, Armenia and Jerusalem” until her death; even her tomb in the Vatican includes an inscription that states her royal title. Charlotte’s story will be

⁴¹ Edward T. Corp, *A court in exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge, 2004), p.6.

⁴² John Middleton, ed., *World Monarchies and Dynasties*, Vols. 1-3, A-Z (Abingdon, 2005), 188-189.

also compared to other exiled rulers to contextualise her status as an exiled prince.

Finally, the principal sources used in Chapter 1 shall be presented. Unfortunately, contemporaneous sources from the fifteenth century are not plentiful. However, those that survive provide some significant information in constructing Charlotte's profile, especially letters of Charlotte and King Louis, and manuscripts from Savoy which were either confidential letters or governmental documents. The recollections principally used in this chapter are a chronicle from the island of Cyprus written by George Boustronios (c.1430-1501) and the *Commentarii* [Commentaries] of Pope Pius II. However, these sources sometimes present the same story in a different way, so they have to be displayed carefully and used with caution. To strengthen the evidential base, other sources from subsequent centuries are included, principally, two chronicles from the island of Cyprus, the sixteenth-century chronicle of Florio Bustron and the eighteenth-century chronicle of Archimandrite Kyprianos. Also, three Savoyard printed sources are used: the anonymous 1594 source and the works of the seventeenth century polemicists, Pierre Monod and Samuel Guichenon.

Charlotte of Lusignan as queen of Cyprus

This section focuses on Charlotte as queen regnant of Cyprus. The main aim is to present and analyse her profile, personality and dynamics as a female prince. This will encompass discussing what evinced the integrity of her character and her profile in terms of what might be described as a "perfect prince", that is to say, if she was thought wise enough to be a good decision-maker, if she was an effective communicator surrounded by good advisers, if she enjoyed popular support, if she had enough political and military power over her country, how her gender affected her rulership and if she understood the power of her enemies, and how she addressed the challenges presented by her opponents. This part also considers the context in which she lost her throne despite her status as the legitimate ruler of Cyprus. To answer these key points,

the use of biographical details is unavoidable. Moreover, awareness of what kind of ruler she was, helps in the comparison with her subsequent years in exile in the next part of this chapter, and enables to consider not only the different circumstances she faced while in exile but also their impact on her as a prince.

Charlotte was the only legitimate daughter of King Jean II of Cyprus (r. 1432-1458) and Eleni Palaeologina (r. 1442-1458), a Byzantine princess and the daughter of the despot of Morea, Theodoros II Palaeologos.⁴³ As the sole descendant of the royal couple, Charlotte was the only person who was entitled *de iuris* to succeed him to his throne.⁴⁴ Although this part of the chapter focuses on Charlotte as a queen and wife of Louis of Savoy, some details about previous wedding negotiations and her first wedding should be mentioned briefly to gain a better insight into her early profile. In 1450, when Charlotte was just seven years of age, her parents negotiated a possible wedding to her cousin Giano, the son of the duke of Savoy, Louis (r.1440-1465) and her aunt Anne Lusignan (1418-1479); they were also the parents of Louis from Savoy (1436/7-1482), himself later king of Cyprus.⁴⁵ In 1456, the negotiations ended positively for a wedding between Charlotte and the Portuguese Prince João (1431-1457),⁴⁶ a nobleman who was the duke of Coimbra and a cousin of the King Afonso V of Portugal (r.1438-1481) and a nephew of Philippe, duke of Burgundy (r.1419-1467)⁴⁷. Widowed again the year after, Charlotte became the object of several proposals. In 1458, Pope Callixtus III (r.1455-1458), who had sworn to liberate Constantinople and had tried to fund a new crusade against Mehmed,⁴⁸ suggested Charlotte marry his nephew Pietro Luigi of Borgia, who was the duke of Spoleto. However, the negotiations were terminated as both

⁴³ Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου-Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*. Edited by Μιχάλης Πιερής and Αγγέλ Νικολάου-Κονναρή (Nicosia, 2003), p.461; Lorenzo Fietta, "Catterina Corner del dott. Enrico Simonsfeld", *Archivio Veneto*, 21 (1881), 41.

⁴⁴ Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Books 1-2 (Lyon, 1660), p.537.

⁴⁵ Peter W. Edbury, "Οι Τελευταίοι Λουζινιανοί (1432-1489)" in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Ιστορία της Κύπρου, Τόμος Δ': Μεσαιωνικόν Βασίλειον-Ενετοκρατία Ι* (Nicosia, 1995), 194-196.

⁴⁶ George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456-1489*. Edited by Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides. Translated by Nicholas Coureas and Hans A. Pohlsander (Nicosia, 2005), pp.67-68; Joachim G. Joachim, "Caterina Cornaro and the Throne of Cyprus" in David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989), 45.

⁴⁷ Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 196-197.

⁴⁸ Brett Edward Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 2014), p.183.

Callixtus III and Pietro died soon after.⁴⁹ This was briefly the early life of Charlotte in Cyprus before she became a queen and wife of Louis from Savoy.

The next wedding offer came once again from Savoy, restating that dynasty's strong interest in gaining deeper relations with Cyprus. This time Louis, who was the second son of Louis, duke of Savoy and Anne of Cyprus, would be the potential groom.⁵⁰ Writing with hindsight, Samuel Guichenon, the seventeenth-century-Savoyard-writer, discussed this wedding in great detail, noting that

To which [Louis, Count of Genoa], the king of Cyprus was seriously focused as he had no closer relatives than the Princes of the House of Savoy, children of Anne of Cyprus, his sister, and that there were no princes of Christendom, to whom he had more obligation than the dukes of Savoy, from whom he had been aided in the midst of his kingdom's greatest calamities. So as to renew this alliance and to further strengthen this friendship, he sent to Savoy Ianus de Montolif, Count of Nicosia and marshal of Cyprus and Oddet Bossant, governor of the Princess Charlotte, his daughter, in order to negotiate the marriage proposal with the dispensation of His Holiness.⁵¹

However, it is generally accepted that Charlotte's mother refused this offer not only because the prince was Catholic and not Orthodox, but also because he and Charlotte were first cousins. Accordingly, the marriage negotiations stopped until Eleni's death⁵², resuming straight after her death in April 1458,⁵³ as King Jean was still interested in marrying his daughter to the son of his sister. In July

⁴⁹ Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 201-202; Αρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2001), pp.320-321.

⁵⁰ Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II, *I Commentarii*. Edited by Luigi Totaro, II Vols. (Milan, 2008), pp.1372-1373; Anonymous, *Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Jacques Lusignano* (Turin, 1594), 3; Franco Angiolini, "Medici e Savoia. Contese per la precedenza e rivalità di rango in età moderna" in Paola Bianchi and Luisa C.Gentile, eds., *L'affermarsi della corte sabauda. Dinastie, poteri, élites in Piemonte e Savoia fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna* (Turin, 2006), 446.

⁵¹ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.537: "A quoy le Roy de Chypre fut entierement porté, parce qu'il n'avoit point de plus proches parents que les Princes de la Maison de Savoye, Enfans d'Anne de Chypre sa soeur, & qu'il n'y avoit point de Princes en toute la Chrestienté, à qui il eut plus d'obligation qu'aux Ducs de Savoye, de qui il avoit esté secouru pendant les plus grandes calamités de son Royaume; de sorte que pour renouveler cette alliance: & pour mieux cimenter cette amitié, il depescha en Savoye Ianus de Montolif Vicomte de Nicosie Mareschal de Chypre, & Oddet Bossat Gouverneur de la Princesse Charlotte sa Fille, pour faire les propositions de ce Mariage, avec dispence de sa Sainteré".

⁵² Boustronios, *Chronicle*, pp.77-78; Pierre Monod, *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Prencipe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri* (Turin, 1633), pp.11-12; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l' île de Chypre*. Edited by René de Mas-Latrie (Milton Keynes, 2011), pp.379-380; Joachim, "Caterina", 49-52; Estienne de Lusignan, *Chorografia*. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος (Nicosia, 2004), pp.153-161.

⁵³ Μαχαιράς, *Χρονικό*, pp.461-462; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.322.

of the same year, Jean died too, but his death did not affect the wedding plans between Charlotte and Louis, since the negotiations had ended positively. In fact, for the formal announcement of the wedding as Guichenon wrote, “[t]he envoy [of Cyprus] was received and the articles concluded in Turin on 10 October 1458. With the duke and duchess treating for their son, [Louis] count of Genoa, were [the illustrious people of Savoy]: the archbishop of Tarsus, Louys de Romagnan bishop of Turin, Aymé Provana bishop de Nice, Henry abbé de Filly, Louys, marquis of Saluzzo, Antoine de Romagnan counsellor de Savoye, Aymé count of Chambre, & Iblet de Mintbel de Fruzasque”.⁵⁴ According to a letter Louis of Savoy sent years later, in 1466 to his brother - a document that will be used various times in this chapter and which will be analysed in greater detail later - the wedding between Charlotte and Louis would be beneficial for Savoy, as for the first time, Savoyard ambassadors would be sent to Cyprus.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the duchy had every reason to be pleased for this proposed wedding as they would acquire the rights to the Cypriot throne. According to the signed contract (Appendix 1), in the event of the couple being childless, Savoy could claim the rights of the House Lusignan. Moreover, the first in the named order of succession was Anne Lusignan, Louis’ mother.⁵⁶ This is a vital detail as this contract was one of the clauses of the marriage that Savoy would use in the future when the dukes staked their claim to Cyprus.

On 15 October 1458, the-fourteen-year-old Charlotte officially assumed the titles of queen of Cyprus, Armenia and Jerusalem.⁵⁷ In this way, she became the first queen regnant of Cyprus. How did Charlotte respond to her new royal status? Things did not begin well: at her coronation, in 1458, the crown fell from her head⁵⁸ and although this might seem, with the benefit of hindsight, to have been nothing more than an accident, in contemporaries’ eyes it was taken as a sign of bad luck and misfortune. Indeed, later, it was seen as

⁵⁴ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.537: “Elles furent reçevës, & les articles en furent arrestés à Turin le 10 d’Octobre 1458. avec le Duc & la Duchesse, traittans pour le Comte de Geneue leur Fils; presens l’Archevesque de Tarse, Louys de Romagnan Euesque de Turin, Aymé Provana Evelque de Nice, Henry Abbé de Filly, Louys, arquis de Saluces, Antoine de Romagnan Chancelier de Savoye, Aymé Comte de la Chambre, & Iblet de Mintbel de Fruzasque”.

⁵⁵ Louis De Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, Vol. III (Paris, 1861), pp.134-136.

⁵⁶ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Book 4, pp.401-403; Edbury, “Οἱ Λουζινιανοί”, 222.

⁵⁷ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. III: The Frankish Period, 1432-1571* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.548-549.

⁵⁸ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.537.

a prefiguration of her loss of Cyprus. In fact, Charlotte remained queen only until 1464,⁵⁹ despite the fact that when she had assumed her royal title, she had been accepted by both her stepbrother Jacques and all the nobles, all of whom had sworn fidelity and obedience to her.⁶⁰ Jacques swore that he would live or die by her command, though he would *de facto* become king of Cyprus.⁶¹ The usurper Isabel in Castile likewise swore fidelity twice to her brother King Enrique, but she became *de facto* queen regnant after his death. In 1467, Enrique had “a narrow but inconclusive victory” in the civil war and in 1468, Isabel kissed Enrique’s hand in public, in Toros de Guisando, showing her obedience to him. Enrique recognised her as his legitimate successor instead of his daughter Juana.⁶² In 1469, Isabel who had chosen Fernando as her husband against Enrique’s will, asked for his acceptance “as true children”, but Enrique then chose his daughter Juana as his heir.⁶³

A year after Charlotte’s coronation, on 7 October 1459, the wedding between Charlotte and Louis took place after Louis had arrived in Cyprus.⁶⁴ Louis became *ure uxoris*, that is co-ruler of Cyprus, rather than king consort. Louis’s 1459 oath, which was administered during his wedding and his coronation stated that:

I, Louis, who by the divine Providence, by right the crowned King of Cyprus, promise you all, before God and the whole Church, the prelates and all my barons present here, that from this day onwards I will be your faithful protector and defender of yours against all living in the Kingdom of Cyprus.⁶⁵

Although Louis co-ruled, his voice remained silent. The only information from him is a letter he sent, in 1466, to his brother describing the poverty he was

⁵⁹ Catherine Otten-Froux, *Un enquête à Chypre au Xve Siècle: Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, Capitaine Génois de Famagouste (1459)* (Nicosia, 2000), p.238.

⁶⁰ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.384.

⁶¹ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, 90-118; Ιερώνυμος Κ. Περιστιάνης, *Γενική Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου: Επανεκδόσεις μετά προλεγόμενων Θεόδωρου Παπαδόπουλλου* (Nicosia, 1995), pp.79-83.

⁶² Tremlett, *Isabella*, pp.35-42.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.70.

⁶⁴ Edbury, “Οι Λουζινανοί”, 206.

⁶⁵ Μαίρη Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, *Η Πριγκίπισσα Άννα της Κύπρου: Η Κύπρια Δούκισσα της Σαβοΐας* (Nicosia, 2017), p.258: “Moi Louis qui par la divine Prvidence, dois etre couronne roi de Chypre, je vous promets a tous devant Dieu tout puissant et toute l'Eglise, les prelates et mes barons ici present que, de ce jour en avan je sarai votre fidele protecteur et le defencer de votre personne contre tout home vivant dans le royaume de Chypre”.⁶⁵

facing in Cerines and the lack of help from the House of Savoy. Besides, Charlotte was the one who went in exile trying to find support. Louis stayed in Cerines for a while and when he departed, it does not seem that he was focused on Cyprus, unlike Charlotte.

Soon after the wedding, relations between Charlotte and her half-brother Jacques deteriorated to the point that Jacques asserted his claims to the kingdom in such a way that it amounted to a military coup. On 26 September 1460, he captured the defenceless Nicosia⁶⁶ and, having usurped power, was crowned the new monarch soon after.⁶⁷ Not that his campaign was either immediate or complete: the northern town of Cerines continued to support Charlotte,⁶⁸ Moreover, the strategically important port of Famagusta remained under the authority of the Genoese as it had since 1373, though that city eventually fell in 1464. Charlotte faced a half-brother who was determined and ambitious, backed by superior military resources: the young queen regnant was confronted with serious problems straight after her coronation, problems that she was not experienced enough to face on her own. The young and politically and militarily inexperienced, Charlotte, could not match her brother's military superiority. At the same time, according to the chronicler Boustronios (albeit a partial commentator as we will see in Part III), Charlotte was the one who had wronged her brother and who failed to act like a responsible ruler. Jacques loved his sister and Charlotte's advisors were responsible for the distance between her and Jacques.⁶⁹ .

Again, we can contextualise Charlotte's experiences with those of Isabel of Castile. Comparing Charlotte to Isabel, it is understandable that the first did not act fast enough to save her throne and did not receive obedience from all of the men. Hence, without substantial power in her hands, she had to use her diplomatic and political skills better to convince the people to take her side. By contrast, Isabel fought for obedience, gained it and then created a powerful

⁶⁶ Λητώ Σεβέρη, *Αρχόντισσες της Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου και η Αικατερίνη Κορνάρο* (Nicosia, 1995), p.118.

⁶⁷ Robert G. Collmer, "Three women of Asolo: Caterina Cornaro, Katherine de Kay Bronson, and Eleonora Duse", *Mediterranean Studies*, XII (2003), 156; Αγγελική Παντελίδου and Κωνσταντία Χατζηκωστή, *Ιστορία της Κύπρου: Μεσαιωνική-Νεότερη (1192-1974)* (Nicosia, 2009), 19-20.

⁶⁸ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, 90-118; Περισιάνης, *Γενική Ιστορία*, pp.31-32.

⁶⁹ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, pp.79-83.

kingdom. When Isabel took the throne, she all the more demonstrated her willingness to take counsel from ostensibly qualified people,⁷⁰ while Charlotte is presented as being surrounded by the wrong people as Boustronios had claimed. Also, Isabel wanted her people to see her; she even rode on horse to places where there were evident political problems to make herself visible and to resolve those problems.⁷¹ Isabel was able to convince her leading subjects that she had a “strong, uncompromising and passionately demanding character”, while maintaining “crucial negotiations with her own secret supporters”.⁷² She wanted to win the civil war and to prove that she was chosen by God as the ruler.⁷³

At this point, it is pertinent to ask who the main supporters of Jacques were that enabled him to become *de facto* king. The answer to this question is essential because Jacques's supporters as Charlotte's opponents, contributed to her loss of her kingdom. Principal among them was the Venetian Marco Cornaro, the father of the later queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro. According to Savoyard sources - the 1594 anonymous author, Monod, and Guichenon - Jacques travelled to Egypt to meet Enal, sultan of Egypt and overlord of the island of Cyprus, to seek his support. Jacques was not alone on this personal mission, in which he promised fealty to Enal as he was accompanied by friends, including Marco Cornaro (though we might understandably exercise caution with these partial accounts).⁷⁴ However, at this juncture, Venice decided not to side with any sibling.⁷⁵ The second and probably main supporter of Jacques was indeed Enal as he chose him to be the ruler of Cyprus instead of Charlotte. As mentioned before, the Mamluks were losing territories to the Ottomans so it was possibly important for them to have a male ruler in Cyprus. Whatever claims there were, Charlotte had to be the rightful queen, as she was the only legitimate child of King Jean. Jacques could accordingly underline that he had the right to the island, as he was the choice of the overlord. We should thus

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.114-115.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.119.

⁷² Ibid., pp.133-134, 138.

⁷³ Ibid., p.142.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, pp.12-14; Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.539.

⁷⁵ Χαράλαμπος Γάσπαρης, «Αγώνας για επικράτηση: Βενετία και Γένουα στο μεσαιωνικό Βασίλειο της Κύπρου» in Νικόλαος Γ. Μοσχονάς, ed., *Κυπρος: Σταυροδρόμι της Μεσογείου* (Athens, 2001), 77-78.

note that, both Charlotte and Jacques had credible counter-claims to be rulers of the island. In 1459, a formal letter arrived at the island saying that the Sultan of Egypt would help Jacques (who had visited him in Egypt) to become the new ruler of Cyprus.⁷⁶ This offer was made after Jacques claimed to the sultan that it was customary for succession to pass through the male line (ignoring that his father chose Charlotte as his legitimate heir), obviously precluding Charlotte's claim. Also, he argued that the islanders did not want Louis as their king and underlined that he would obey the sultan's orders,⁷⁷ thereby securing both naval and land support from the sultan.⁷⁸ Although Charlotte was the only legitimate child, she was neither male nor was she supported by the overlord of the island, and she was also married to an unpopular man, a king who lacked local support. All these reasons support the answer to the question as to why Charlotte lost her kingdom.

Under these difficult circumstances, Charlotte organised the defence of the island as best she could,⁷⁹ while ambassadors were sent to the sultan to convince him to reconsider, though without a positive result.⁸⁰ Charlotte did not help her cause since her mission was not dispatched promptly, right after she was informed that her stepbrother was in Egypt in 1458. Instead, it was sent next year, after Louis' arrival and their wedding celebration.⁸¹ The queen lost valuable time that enabled Jacques to strengthen his position. While the young in age and inexperienced in warfare Charlotte seems to have mistimed her diplomacy, she was also unlucky as the ambassadors sent to Egypt died due to an unexpected illness. Consequently, she was forced to organise a new mission,⁸² something that, of course, resulted in more crucial delays. Moreover,

⁷⁶ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1380-1381; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, pp.158-161; *Estienne de Lusignan, Description de toute l'isle de Cypre. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος* (Nicosia, 2004), pp.352-356; Monod, *Trattato*, p.13; Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 206-208.

⁷⁷ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso et Istoria della Successione dell' Isola e Regno di Cipro dedicata alla Serenissima Infanta Donna Catterina d'Austria, Duchessa di Savoia*, 4v-6r; Bustron, *Chronique*, p.393.

⁷⁸ BNM BS, 171v-172r; Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.539; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.331-332; Peter W. Edbury, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours" in Γεωργία Παπαγεωργίου, ed., *Κύπρος: Από την Προϊστορία στους Νεότερους Χρόνους* (Nicosia, 1995), p.240; Gilles Grivaud, *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, Vol. III (Nicosia, 1998), p.306.

⁷⁹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.555-558.

⁸⁰ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.90; Bustron, *Chronique*, p.392; Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, p.4v; AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 6r.

⁸¹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.553-555.

⁸² Bustron, *Chronique*, pp.392-393; Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 206.

aside from Jacques's main supporters (the sultan of Egypt and Marco Cornaro), there was one more person that, although he was not an ally of Jacques, also contributed indirectly to Charlotte's loss of Cyprus; the Ottoman Mehmed II. Reflecting on these diplomatic initiatives, Pope Pius II and Guichenon argued that Charlotte's envoy to Egypt could have achieved positive results provided that Mehmed II did not connote preference for the Greek Jacques over the Latin Louis for the Cypriot throne to the sultan of Egypt.⁸³ Pius added that the Ottoman ruler warned the sultan of Egypt to take Jacques' side otherwise he would start a war against him:

And you know that you won't only face the Turks, but also the Egyptians, the Syrians and the Arabs, your subjects, who will violently hate you and your own son won't take your side, as you will betray our religion in favour of a Frenchman. If instead you keep your promise to Jacques [to take his side] and you set up a fleet against Cyprus [Charlotte and Louis], Mehmed will prepare another one against Rhodes, and the booty from both the islands will be yours. Mehmed wishes principally that he might be assured of possession of the land of the island of Rhodes.⁸⁴

In the eyes of Mehmed, Louis was not just the king of Cyprus, but a Latin/French ruler in the eastern Mediterranean, something that constituted a clear regional threat to his interests. It should be reiterated here that since Pius (r.1458-1464) had unsuccessfully tried to organise a crusade to liberate Constantinople, Mehmed had no reason to prefer a Latin/French ruler over a local Cypriot.

In spite of this daunting combination of circumstances and determined opposition, Charlotte was not entirely lacking allies and supporters. Notably, amongst those allies were the Knights of Rhodes, who initially tried to play the role of a mediator. In a letter sent between 1459 and 1460 from the commander of Rhodes, Jacques de Milly, to the commander of the Aegean island of Nisyros, Jean Dauphin, the order was given for him to go to Egypt as soon as possible to visit the sultan and try to achieve peace in Cyprus between Jacques

⁸³ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1384-1385; Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.539.

⁸⁴ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1384-1385: "E sappi che non solo avrai contro i Turchi, ma che anche gli Egiziani, i Siriani e gli Arabi, a te soggetti, ti odieranno violentemente, e il tuo stesso figliolo non ti starà accanto, perché tradirà la nostra religione in favore di un francese. Se invece terrai fede alla promessa fatta a Giacomo e allestirai una flotta contro Cipro, Maometto ne allestirà un'altra contro Rodi e tuo sarà il bottino fatto in entrambe le isole. Maometto desidera soltanto che gli sia riservato il possesso del suolo dell'isola di Rodi".

and Charlotte. Besides, as he continues, neither Charlotte nor Jacques wanted to lose that “battle”, since, as Christians, they did not want to be responsible for the deaths of many compatriots.⁸⁵ Moreover, the knights were mediators in October 1460, when Louis had decided to leave the castle of Cerines and Cyprus in general, a fact by which he was, in effect, forgoing his effort to retake the Kingdom. The Grand Commander of Rhodes sent this letter to the commander of Treviso (a town close to Venice), Nicolas of Corogne, and the commander of Auxerre (in Burgundy), Jean de Chailly, asking them to go to Cyprus and follow Louis with the support of their galleys as he wanted to depart from the island (something that in the end was postponed). According to the letter, it was not certain yet where Louis intended to go, though one option was Rhodes itself. Whatever his decision, the two commanders and their navies were under instruction not to abandon the king before a new order from the Commander of Rhodes.⁸⁶ Also, the Grand Master of Rhodes detailed in a letter he sent on 6 November 1460 to the castle of Emposte the situation in Cyprus, the Peloponnese and the island of the Aegean, asking for help against the Turks and the Egyptians. He mentioned that the sultan and Jacques had managed to capture almost the whole Cyprus, apart from the castle of Cerines, where King Louis and a number of loyal barons and soldiers were located.⁸⁷ The Grand Master of Rhodes noted that the knights helped Louis to take back his kingdom and now they were facing the consequences; First of all, the sultan had threatened them via his navy, he deprived them of their freedom of movement in the seas and, finally, an embargo on corn, which was a vital import for their island, was enforced on them.⁸⁸

Finally, it should be noted that Charlotte was offered help from Savoy and Genoa, although as mentioned earlier, according to the letter of Louis from Savoy that was not enough. According to the same letter that King Louis sent in 1466 to his brother, briefly discussed earlier, in 1460, his father and duke of Savoy had decided to give money to Charlotte to provide security for the royal

⁸⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.96-99.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.104-105.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.108-111.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.112.

couple and their kingdom, after Jacques had attacked them.⁸⁹ Besides, both the duke and the duchess wanted Louis to marry Charlotte so that Savoy might create a dynastic stake in the kingdom. Evidently, the ambitions of the ducal Savoy to royal status were deep-seated.⁹⁰ However, Louis also mentions that most of the money spent in Cyprus came not from Savoy but from Cypriot sources.⁹¹ Possibly, this referred to money raised by taxation, the money that Charlotte's supporters gave her, or even the money Charlotte had by selling some of her treasures. Elsewhere in the letter, Louis wrote that the money Charlotte received from her parents-in-law helped her only to travel from Cerines to Rhodes. Whatever the case, in reality the duke of Savoy did send, in 1461, a shipload of supplies and 1800 ducats.⁹² According to Guichenon, who wrote some 200 years later, 800 soldiers arrived on the island sent by the Savoyard duke.⁹³ Savoy was struggling to send more help, as, in the same year it had to deal with unrest against the Jews of Geneva.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, for this mission in Cyprus the duke of Savoy asked Nice (an ally city under Savoyard authority since 1388)⁹⁵ for help, sending a letter in October 1460. Being a Christian city itself, Nice should help. Additionally, the duke's son had lost his kingdom to Jacques, himself aided by the Egyptian sultan.⁹⁶ With the mission of Duke Louis, Louis was even ready in Cerines to attack Nicosia, though circumstances prevented this.⁹⁷ Help was also sought from the Genoese; in 1460 the duke of Savoy sent a letter to Thomas de la Brigue, who was responsible for transportation in Genoa, to seek help. He wanted him to urgently convince the governor of Genoa to offer assistance as he required boats in front of Chaffa and Schio before Pasca to go on a mission to Cyprus.⁹⁸ Of course, it has to be noted that as the Genoese controlled the

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.133-138.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.134-135.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.135.

⁹² Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.579.

⁹³ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.540.

⁹⁴ Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, Άννα, p.266.

⁹⁵ Sue Wright, "Fixing National Borders: Language and Loyalty in Nice" in Paul Gubbins and Mike Holt, eds., *Beyond Boundaries: Language and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (Clevedon, 2002), 92.

⁹⁶ Louis De Mas-Latrie, *Documents Nouveaux Servant De preuves A L'Histoire De L'Île De Chypre: Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan* (Paris, 1882), pp.399-400.

⁹⁷ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.540.

⁹⁸ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.99-101; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.566-567.

city and the port of Famagusta for years and Jacques wanted to seize control of the place, it made sense that Genoa took Charlotte's side and gave some help to her. Genoa lost all its colonies and was only in possession of Famagusta until 1464 and Chios until 1566. Trebizond fell in 1461, and although it was not a Genoese colony, it was an important commercial centre and its loss affected Genoa.⁹⁹

Before moving to the next part of the chapter, the circumstances under which Charlotte left the island of Cyprus shall be explained. Despite obtaining support mainly from Savoy and the Commander of Rhodes, the royal couple lacked sufficient force, and money to retake the island from Jacques, even after Charlotte had sold her jewels;¹⁰⁰ it was still not enough and, was prompted to leave Cyprus in order to negotiate support. Her situation was not entirely dissimilar to that of Isabel of Castile, who, in the 1460s, faced similar challenges as she was embroiled in a civil war with Enrique. Isabel and Fernando lacked both the money and the support from local elites, while they controlled just a small part of Castile. They needed the help and support of wealthy, powerful and experienced people, among which was the father of Fernando and the archbishop of Toledo, Carrillo, a man driven by ambition. Isabel, as she had no income, also pledged the necklace she was given by Fernando before their wedding. There were even more problems as some of her retinue considered abandoning her and siding with Enrique. She also tried to convince other nobles to ally themselves with her underlining that Fernando had Castilian roots, though many nobles remained neutral, watching the progress of the civil war before taking sides.¹⁰¹

Although Isabel became queen regnant in Castile until her death, Charlotte was not so fortunate. The situation for her in Cyprus deteriorated to such a point that, in 1461, Charlotte had to find support beyond the island to

⁹⁹ Helen Nader, "Christopher Columbus: Adolescence and Youth" in Silvio A. Bedini, ed., *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, (Basingstoke, 1992), 169.

¹⁰⁰ Mas-Latrie, *History of Cyprus III*, p.579; Gianni Perbellini, "La storia" in Gianni Perbellini, ed., *Cipro, la dote di Venezia: Eredità della Serenissima e ponte verso l'Oriente* (Milan, 2011), 33.

¹⁰¹ Tremlett, *Isabella*, pp.65-70.

maintain her power.¹⁰² The exiled years of the queen were just about to begin. After her departure from Cyprus, the duke of Savoy funded, in 1462, a military mission to Cyprus under the authorities of Sor de Naves,¹⁰³ who was the leader of her retinue and the captain of her boats,¹⁰⁴ (he would take in the future Jacques's side). However, Louis departed permanently for Savoy, in early 1463, with a galley sent by his father.¹⁰⁵ When he returned to his hometown, he never left again, in effect forgoing both Cyprus and his wife.¹⁰⁶ Louis lived his final years in Ripaille.¹⁰⁷ The couple never bore children together.¹⁰⁸ Finally, the surrender of the castle of Cerines was signed over officially to Jacques on 23 August 1464.¹⁰⁹ Understandably, this confluence of circumstances complicated Charlotte's position in exile, as she continued her search for support and allies while her own husband had abandoned all efforts.

Reflecting on this narrative, it is understandable that from the beginning of her reign, the nineteen-year-old queen regnant, Charlotte, lacked the kinds of natural assets that might have facilitated the imposition of her power. Charlotte, despite being the only pure blood princess and legitimate child of King Jean, still lacked inherent authority as a female ruler in a male dominated world. Firstly, she needed approval as a ruler by her whole community, but many nobles had chosen Jacques as the male descendant of King Jean, while Louis was not popular amongst Cypriot elites. Secondly, Charlotte had to be a good decision-maker. However, although she had been trained by her parents to rule the island, both of them died early and Charlotte became queen at the age of fourteen. Thirdly, Charlotte had no experience in warfare, at a time when she was confronted by her strong step-brother and his allies. Overall, with the benefit of hindsight, these elements make her look like a weak ruler, a bad decision-maker and an ineffective communicator. As seen earlier, a successful

¹⁰² BNM BS, 172; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.347; Attilio Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro e il suo regno* (Venezia, 1892), p.44.

¹⁰³ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.584-585.

¹⁰⁴ Αντρος Παυλίδης, *Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου, Τόμος III: Από το 1192 μέχρι το 1571* (Nicosia, 1992), p.276.

¹⁰⁵ BNM BS, 172; Monod, *Trattato*, pp.22-23.

¹⁰⁶ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.393.

¹⁰⁷ Αβρααμίδου-Πύργου, *Αννα*, p.273.

¹⁰⁸ BNM BS, 172.

¹⁰⁹ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.347-348.

ruler had to be prudent and experienced in warfare, characteristics that were thought to confer axiomatic superiority and capacity to male rulers.

In a broader context, the period after the fall of Constantinople was challenging for powers in the eastern Mediterranean as a result of the Ottomans' expansion. In 1461, the Empire of Trebizond fell to the Ottomans¹¹⁰.¹¹¹ Also, in 1460s, the buffer system of the Mamluk Empire collapsed, bringing instability closer to Cyprus:¹¹² in 1461, Mehmed had already started taking control of Mamluk-controlled lands as both empires sought the support of regional Muslim rulers (the Ottomans gained control of the Karamanids, while Mamluks gained the support of the Beylik of Dulkadir).¹¹³ Moreover, between 1463 and 1479 the first Venetian-Ottoman war took place,¹¹⁴ causing even more regional instability. Venice lost, in 1463, Argos,¹¹⁵ in 1464, the Hexamilion fortress in the Isthmus of Corinth,¹¹⁶ and, in 1470, Negroponte, Pteleon and Imbros,¹¹⁷ though, in 1463, Venetians took control of Monemvasia, a coastal town on South Peloponnese¹¹⁸ and Brazzo di Maina in Epirus.¹¹⁹ During 1464 and 1466, they gained control of the Northern Aegean islands of Lemnos, Imbros (Inbro), Thassos (Taso) and Samothrace (Samotracia).¹²⁰ In 1469, Venice took control of Croia (Krojë).¹²¹ But for the next twenty years, this was the limit of Venetian power and Ottoman expansionism was a continual threat to eastern Mediterranean states, including Cyprus. Given these regional challenges, in what was in any case a male dominated political world, it would have been more challenging for a woman to rule.

¹¹⁰ Χρήστος Σαμουηλίδης, *Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας: Τα 257 Χρόνια του Ελληνικού Μεσαιωνικού Κράτους των 21 Κομνηνών Αυτοκρατόρων του Πόντου (1204-1461)*, (Athens, 2007), p.299.

¹¹¹ Alexander Beihammer "The Kingdom of Cyprus in the First Ottoman-Venetian War (1463-1479): Aspects of its Military and Political Significance" in Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart, eds., *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter* (Münster, 2015), 86.

¹¹² Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491* (Leiden, 1995), p.28.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.79.

¹¹⁴ Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Θεσμός Αστικών Κοινοτήτων*, p.19.

¹¹⁵ Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period" in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 135.

¹¹⁶ Ζόελ Ντάλεγκρ, *Έλληνες και Οθωμανοί (1453-1923): Από την Πτώση της Κωνσταντινούπολης έως την Καταστροφή της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας* (Athens, 2006), p.30.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.30.

¹¹⁸ Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Θεσμός Αστικών Κοινοτήτων*, p.19.

¹¹⁹ Arbel, "Maritime Empire", 135.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.136.

¹²¹ Ibid., p.133.

Charlotte of Lusignan and her life as a queen in exile

Charlotte's exile effectively began when she left Cyprus in search of support against her illegitimate brother, visiting firstly the island of Rhodes in May 1461.¹²² As it has already been explained, this was a period of significant Ottoman expansionism in the region, affecting both Christian and Muslim powers. Charlotte's goal of negotiating support outside the island was to be proven elusive: given the fact that she died in 1487, she spent a considerable portion of her life in exile. This part of the chapter examines her exile, focusing on the time Charlotte spent on the island of Rhodes and in various Italian states, trying to find supporters. A key question for Charlotte being in exile during these difficult years lies behind this period: was she able to maintain the credibility of her queenship as an exile, or did she, in effect, lose her sovereign status? In addressing these fundamental points, a series of preconditions should be mentioned, such as her contacts and negotiations with state leaders while she was facing exile, the ways she was received by them, the way she was ceremonially received in the formal meetings, and if she was given support to regain her kingdom. Then, her case can be placed in a wider context by being compared with other monarchs exiled against their wills. As these contextual examples suggest, she was a queen in exile and not a former queen.

In self-imposed exile, Charlotte was helped by her father-in-law Louis, duke of Savoy as demonstrated by the extensive 1466 letter of King Louis, that has already been mentioned, though that support was not in itself sufficient. As King Louis wrote "the financial support for Charlotte was really poor. When she arrived in Rhodes, she could not continue [her trip], so she asked them [the Knights of Rhodes] for help, otherwise each member of her companion [members of her army] would have to decide on his own if he would stay or leave. And when the money for the boat ran out, she paid herself, to transfer some of her companions back to Cerines".¹²³ Charlotte's financial position, if this letter is to be believed, was so precarious that she could not fund her own

¹²² Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 215.

¹²³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.136-137.

mission to ask for request support. Fortunately, she managed to obtain more aid from the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes.¹²⁴ As King Louis continued, in her search for international support, Charlotte planned to visit the Egyptian sultan to convince him to side with her, given that he was the overlord of Cyprus.¹²⁵ Charlotte was not in fact the only one who sought support from a Muslim ruler, in a context where the Ottomans and Mamluks were themselves seeking alliances with Christian powers in their conflicts against each other.¹²⁶ The previous year, 1460, Pope Pius tried to convince Uzun Hasan (the Turcoman leader) to participate in his crusade against the Ottomans, and he even recognised him as “King of Mesopotamia”.¹²⁷

Charlotte never visited Egypt, and instead switched her attention westwards, to Lausanne as the Venetians had (illegally) seized her belongings, before she managed to go to Egypt.¹²⁸ Again, Charlotte faced difficulties and unexpected misfortunes that undermined her efforts to find support. Although she fled to Rhodes in June 1461,¹²⁹ she went on to visit various Italian states, receiving, as it will be explained further on, occasional financial support, though, more importantly, recognition of her sovereign status. However, this support and recognition as queen in exile was not enough for Charlotte to retake her kingdom.

Charlotte arrived in Rome on 15 October 1461¹³⁰ and remained there for a fortnight - she left the city on 29 October.¹³¹ This visit of Charlotte in Rome was crucial, given that the pope was not only the spiritual head of the Catholic Church, but also a figurehead with evident international political and financial power, a pope who sought a new crusade in the eastern Mediterranean. Charlotte, as a queen of Cyprus, could be an ally of the pope in his crusade, with Cyprus acting as a secure port. Pius firstly expressed his intention for a

¹²⁴ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.580-582.

¹²⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.137.

¹²⁶ Har-El, *Domination*, p.7.

¹²⁷ Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (London, 2008), p.225.

¹²⁸ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.137.

¹²⁹ Edbury, “Οι Λουζινιανοί”, 215.

¹³⁰ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.582.

¹³¹ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1394-1395.

Holy War in 1459,¹³² an action which constituted part of a strategy in order to restore papal reputation following the 1453 fall of Constantinople.¹³³ Despite various diplomatic challenges between 1463 and 1464, Pius II put his crusade into action against the Ottomans, travelling to Ancona with 3000 troops from Milan.¹³⁴ The Venetian fleet arrived too, but Pius died in Ancona soon after, in August 1464 and the crusade never materialised.¹³⁵ The collapse of the crusade left Venice alone in the battle against the Ottomans, a situation not helped by the fact that the other Italian states neither trusted Venice nor wanted to go into war with them.¹³⁶

By deciding to welcome Charlotte as a ruler in exile in 1461, Pius set an example for other rulers to potentially follow - something that could be absolutely beneficial for Charlotte's principal aspiration of returning as a resident queen in Cyprus. In Rome, Charlotte saw Pius II no fewer than four or five times.¹³⁷ Pius II himself recorded details about their encounters in his *Commentarii*, writing that Charlotte

having sent ahead messengers to announce her arrival, she took to the river and landed near to the Church of St. Paul. The pope ordered the Cardinals and the whole Curia to meet her and then he received her in a public audience in the Consistory Chamber [sala del concistoro]. He gave her accommodation in an isolated part of the palace and she and her retinue were hosted with magnificence.¹³⁸

Pius's comments are evidently noteworthy - so far as he was concerned, Charlotte had not lost her sovereign status. Pius welcomed her formally as a fully sovereign queen, inside the Church of San Paolo [fuori le mura] in front of a public formal audience that included cardinals and Curia. What is more, he also provided her with accommodation in the city at his expense.

¹³² Whalen, *Papacy*, p.183.

¹³³ Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011), p.31.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹³⁵ Κωνσταντίνος Ν. Σαθάς, *Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* (Athens, 2010), pp.31-32.

¹³⁶ Άννα Καρακατσούλη, "Συνοπτική Ιστορία του Ευρωπαϊκού Χώρου με Έμφαση στην Ιστορία της Βενετίας (1204-1797)" in Χρύσα Μαλιέζου, ed., *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα: Προσεγγίζοντας της Ιστορία της*, Vol. II (Athens-Venice, 2010), 723.

¹³⁷ Pius II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1394-1395.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.1386-1387: "Dopo aver mandato innanzi dei messaggeri a preannunciare il suo arrivo, risali la corrente del fiume e prese terra presso la chiesa di San Paolo. Il papa ordinò ai cardinali e a tutta la Curia di andarle incontro e quindi la ricevette in udienza pubblica nella sala del concistoro, le diede alloggio in una parte isolata del Palazzo e ospitò con magnificenza lei e il suo seguito".

Of course, a sovereign welcome was not sufficient per se. Charlotte had to convince the pope and the international community that she should be given support. Accordingly, in the first papal audience, Charlotte underlined that her bastard pseudochristian brother and his allies were fighting against Christianity, as the Muslim Egyptians were controlling Cyprus with the aim of destroying every Christian temple (even though they were Orthodox rather than Catholic).¹³⁹ Charlotte underlined that her brother was a pseudochristian as he was helped by Muslims (Mamluks and Ottomans) to take the throne of Cyprus - it should be reiterated that Pius wanted to lead a crusade against the Ottomans. Evidently, Charlotte wanted to accentuate her piety to gain support against the pseudochristian ruler from the pope and other European states. Humanists of the fifteenth century, including Pius, presented the Ottomans and their ancestors as uncivilised, barbarous and savage people,¹⁴⁰ worse than the Persians and Arab predecessors.¹⁴¹

Charlotte explained to the pope that the dangers posed by Jacques turning to Muslims for support, were not only imminent for Cyprus, but for other strategically important islands such as Rhodes, Crete and Sicily. Charlotte argued that she had tried her utmost to take back her kingdom and defeat the Muslims, but, as mentioned earlier, the Venetians had raided her fleet and taken all her treasures. Utilizing the crusade rhetoric to convince the pope of her helplessness, she remained, so she argued, with little food and just one set of clothes.¹⁴² Charlotte went further. If Muslims were to take Cyprus, then it would be transformed into a Muslim territory. Furthermore, the fall of Cyprus would result in Rhodes and Crete suffering the same fate. This would be followed by the barbarian fleet disembarking in Sicily and threatening Italy. Charlotte stated that she was not asking for great help from the pope, just for wheat and wine to take to Cerines as well as sufficient aid so she could visit her parents-in-law to seek their support for a larger army.¹⁴³ At this point, Charlotte was either an opportunist or genuine in this crusade rhetoric. Whatever the case, the

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp.1388-1391.

¹⁴⁰ Meserve, *Islam*, p.3.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.202.

¹⁴² Pío II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1388-1391.

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp.1390-1393.

Ottomans continued to expand in the eastern Mediterranean (as Charlotte knew) and they were to capture Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete. Charlotte may well have had a point about the Ottoman threat to both eastern and western Mediterranean territories.

Charlotte's rhetoric is suggestive. Whereas before, she appears to have been at best, unlucky, as she had ended up in exile, she played her part considerably better due to the strength of her rhetorical arguments. Her efforts at least bore at least some fruit in the end, as Charlotte managed to convince the pope to help her. This fact suggests not only that her arguments as queen in exile were convincing, but also that she had gained the confidence of Pius and his court. In a letter dating from 1462, Charlotte detailed her visit in Rome and made clear that she was satisfied with the help she had received:

As for the visit to Rome and the Pope, our Holy Father, we showed him our reverence; he received us very well and then we expressed to him the reasons of our coming there, he felt great compassion and pity and very cordially he offered to us help and hospitality; and he also gave us plenty of corn and wine as aid, providing and supporting our position in Cerines.¹⁴⁴

In his *Commentarii* Pope Pius provides more details about that visit to Rome, underlining that without his help, Charlotte would not have been able to continue her international search for support. More specifically, he wrote that she could not travel by sea because there was no food, neither by land because she did not have horses and money.¹⁴⁵ Convinced by Charlotte's motivations, he decided to help Charlotte generously by giving her everything she had asked for; horses, the expenses to visit her parents-in-law, as well as wheat and wine which she would pick up from Ancona on her way back from Savoy. In that way, everything was ready for Charlotte to go to Savoy and France in her quest for support.¹⁴⁶ She was even given a horse by every cardinal, in addition to horses

¹⁴⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.119: "De Rome visiter nostre saint pere le pape, et lui avons fait la reverence; lequel nous a tres gracieusement receve, et apres que lui avons expouse et dit les causes de nostre venue de par deça, il en a eu tres grant compassion et pitié, et s'est offert tres cordielment de nous aider et secourir; et desja il nous a donné beaucoup de blez et de vins pour secourir, fournir et soustenir nostre place de Cherines".

¹⁴⁵ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, 1 pp.390-1393.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.1392-1395.

given by the pope himself - she left with around fifty horses,¹⁴⁷ a very material testament to the support she had from both the College of Cardinals and the papal monarchy. The pope also gave her letters of recommendation to help her continue her trip safely.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the letters themselves are now lost, but it can be inferred that they facilitated her to travel according to the protocols of a full queen in the various places from which she sought aid.¹⁴⁹ As such, the letters are significant in terms of addressing the ambiguities about her status as a queen in exile or a former queen. It seems that they presented Charlotte as the exiled queen of Cyprus who needed help to take back her kingdom from the usurper illegitimate brother and his Muslim allies; they constituted a “passport” for her in order to enter various Italian states as a queen in exile, not as a former queen.

The support of the pope was absolutely critical for Charlotte’s royal recognition and her hope to return to Cyprus as a queen. It also reminds us of the abiding importance of the papacy in early modern diplomacy. However, she could not solely rely on that assistance. She needed material, and, it should be added, ceremonial, support from other rulers too. For this reason, she sent letters to other powers appealing for help. For example, on 23 October 1461 she sent from Rome, a letter to Nice, in which she wrote:

Queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. Very dear and special friend. We are sending you thus by our dear and good friend, counsellor and captain, Sor de Naves, our galley, in which we have come from Cyprus. And given that the aforementioned Soro has long served as well and greatly and has offered us his services and all his possessions, we kindly ask that out of love and consideration for us, you graciously and generously receive him and host him as best as you can. Also, provide food and other necessities from houses and stores to reduce the members of our said galley and place the galley in a safe place. And help him acquire horses so that he may go to our father [Duke of Savoy] whenever he pleases. Written in Rome, in 3 October 1461, Queen Charlotte.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.1394-1395.

¹⁴⁸ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 9r.

¹⁴⁹ Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, p.6v; Monod, *Trattato*, p.20; Perbellini, “La storia”, 45.

¹⁵⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Nouveaux*, pp.400-401: “La reyne de Jerusalem, de Chypres et d’Armenie. Tres chers et especiaux amys. Nous vous envoyons de par delà par nostre cher et bien amé conseiller et capitaine Soro de Naves, nostre galère, en laquelle sommes venue de Chypres. Et pour ce que ledit Soro depuis longtemps nos a bien et grandement servi et de sa personne et de ses biens à tout son pouvoir, vous prions très attes et de bon cuer que venant de delà,

Also, on 5 November 1461 she wrote a letter to the Florentine republic making a request for a safe passage, so she could travel onwards to Savoy. Here, she wrote

Charlotte, by the grace of God queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, to the illustrious Florentine authority, our dear friends, greetings and happiness to the vows of success. After transitory days that we crossed seas and we arrived in Rome, enlighten [helped] by the Holy Lord, our pope in our political issues, we decided to approach the illustrious lord and our father, the honourable duke of Savoy, via your jurisdiction and land.¹⁵¹

These two letters provide details about Charlotte's arduous trip, her requests for support and a safe passage and reinforce the impression that she, for one, viewed herself as a queen of pure royal blood, signing formal letters with her full royal title. She was also more than aware of the symbolic importance of papal support: the fact that she underlines the help of the pope suggests an awareness that other powers might follow by example, given the papacy's abiding importance.

However, she was not alone in "fighting" for Cyprus and royal recognition. Jacques had strategic plans for royal recognition too. Although he had been recognised by the sultan of Egypt as the rightful king of Cyprus that was not enough for him; he sent in 1461, he sent a mission to the Italian Peninsula too, comprising two eminent men of Cyprus, the bishop of Limassol and the archbishop of Cyprus, Filippus Podocatharos.¹⁵² In July, the two ambassadors visited Venice where the republic's diplomatic stance demonstrates the use of diplomacy as a way of legitimizing sovereignty. The Venetian Senate's formal response to Jacques's ambassadors, dated 18 July 1461, stated that the Senate "[w]anted to stay neutral".¹⁵³ It would not welcome

pour amour et contemplation de nous, le veuillez benignement et genereusement recepvoyr et lui faire tous les honneurs qui vous seront possibles. Aussi le pourvoir de vivres et autres choses nécessaires que des maisons et magasins pour réduire les sartes de notre ditte gallere et icelle mettre en lieu de sourté. Et en oultre l'aider à pourvoir de chevaux pour s'en aller devers monseigneur notre père quant lui plaira, etc. Escript à Rome, le 23 d'octobre 1461. Regina Charlotta".

¹⁵¹ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.114: "Charlotta, Dei gratia Jherusalem, Cypri et Armenie regina, illustri dominio Florentinorum, amicis nostris carissimis, salutem et foelices ad vota successus. Postquam, his fluxis diebus, maria transfretavimus, venimus Romam, ubi expedito cum sanctissimo domino nostro papa super rebus nostris negotio, deliberavimus ad illustrissimum dominum et patrem nostrum honorabilem ducem Sabaudie accedere et per vestram jurisdictionem et loca transire".

¹⁵² Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.575-577; Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro*, pp.49-50.

¹⁵³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.153: "faciat pro nostro dominio ut stemus neutrales".

Jacques's representatives as "ambassadors of the king of Cyprus", and would not give them letters of recommendation for Pius II and the cardinals, but just simple letters to his ambassadors for safe conduct for their mission to the pope. In those letters they "[w]ould be mentioned just as 'oratores Cipri' (ambassadors of Cyprus), friends and well-wishers [of Venice]".¹⁵⁴ The contrast between Charlotte's treatment by Pius II seems evident. This might be regarded as a loss of symbolic diplomatic capital for Jacques, especially as his ambassadors were, in effect, not recognised as royal representatives: by obvious extension, he was not recognised as a legitimate king, with a fully functioning diplomatic personality, by Venice. In Rome, Jacques's ambassadors were not welcomed with the title of royal ambassadors either.¹⁵⁵ When the ambassadors arrived there, Pope Pius chose not even to listen to them. Instead, he underlined that the only legitimate ruler of the island was Charlotte.¹⁵⁶ The failure of Jacques's representatives in Rome and Venice to secure any meaningful advantages, symbolic or real, can be counted as a diplomatic victory for Charlotte regarding the fundamental issue of sovereign status. By contrast, as discussed above, she had been welcomed as a queen in Rome; she had secured letters of recommendation from the pope and had been accepted as a queen in other Italian states. One might regard this a signal that Charlotte, unlike Jacques, was recognised as the legitimate ruler of Cyprus.

Nonetheless, the prospects for Jacques's envoy were better in Florence, where Jacques's representatives had thanked, in a letter on 3 October 1461, the republic and its people for their past support to Cyprus¹⁵⁷ and he promised to be a fair king, like previous Lusignan rulers. However, as it will be explained, Charlotte did not seek recognition either. Returning to the letter, Jacques underlined that he was the son of King Jean, and indeed his only male child, seeking Florence's support by underlining his royal blood and sovereign status

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.153-154: "non faciendo mentionem quod sint oratores regii, sed tanquam amici et beniVoli nostri domini. Et si replicantes instarent nominari oratores regis Jacobi, justificetur hec materia cum illis verbis et rationibus que collegio videantur".

¹⁵⁵ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 9r.

¹⁵⁶ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.575-577; Centelli, *Caterina Comaro*, pp.49-50.

¹⁵⁷ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.154-155.

through the patrilineal line.¹⁵⁸ He also thanked the Florentines for accepting his ambassadors, in contrast to their experiences in Rome,¹⁵⁹ as Charlotte and Louis had convinced the pope that “[t]he king stepped out of the Christian faith and he was in favour of the barbarians”.¹⁶⁰ But, as he himself explained further on, this was not true as not only was he himself Christian, but also he altered “[n]either the [Christian] faith nor the religion” of Cyprus when he became king.¹⁶¹ His representatives had a double mission: to achieve a commercial deal with Florence and to explain why he had seized the throne from his step-sister Charlotte although she was the only legitimate child of King Jean. To convince them of that latter point, Jacques said that he was better suited to rule than Charlotte, given that she was surrounded by unreliable followers, “wrong” people who did not really care about the kingdom and were concerned only with their own interests. Since King Louis had never tried to resolve this situation, he had to forfeit his rights as king. Thus, Jacques was a legitimate ruler because of the support he claimed he enjoyed. Besides, as he added, according to the royal protocols relating to inheritance in Cyprus, the male child, not the female, should be the successor.¹⁶² Jacques, an illegitimate son, had evidently glossed over the serious issue of pure royal blood. This also suggests that in the period, in the cases of contested sovereignty like that of Charlotte and Jacques, it was not clear, or at least was not always consistently clear, who had the more convincing rights to be the ruler. This was a matter of presentation as well as what we might call *realpolitik* of who was in actual possession of the island. Certainly, the former point goes some way towards the justification of why both the siblings sought support for their competing claims to legitimate sovereign status. Meanwhile, in his letter Jacques also underlined that the reason why he first visited Alexandria in Egypt was that it was nearest and he urgently needed help and support.¹⁶³ The sultan called him “king of Cyprus” and supported him militarily.¹⁶⁴ Jacques, with the exception of the sultan’s help, implied he would

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.162-164.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.155.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.159: “quasi rex ipse fidem christianam reliquisset, secutus opem Barbarorum”.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.163: “quodque nec fidem nec religionem immutarit”.

¹⁶² Ibid., pp.155-156.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.156.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.157-159.

have preferred Christian support. He wrote in his letter that Cyprus could be a shield of Christianity in the southeast Mediterranean as its neighbours were all Muslim. Accordingly, if the Christian kingdoms wanted to crusade against infidels again, then Cyprus could serve as a base for operations.¹⁶⁵ Again, as mentioned before, Pius had planned a crusade and Jacques here presents the strategic advantages Pius and his allies could gain with a base in Cyprus.

Returning to the narrative of Charlotte's mission around the Italian Peninsula, her treatment at various points provides further clues as to her perceived status. During the winter of 1461,¹⁶⁶ according to Pius, she was welcomed with the honours accorded to a queen of Cyprus following the example of the pope: "[t]he Florentines [November 1461¹⁶⁷], the Bolognese [November 1461¹⁶⁸] and other states, through which she reached Savoy, did the same. All of them welcomed the queen with great honours, in accordance with her title".¹⁶⁹ Pius's comments are telling since they suggest that in the wake of papal recognition, the exiled Charlotte was elsewhere received as a queen as if she had never lost her sovereign status. Unfortunately, Pius provides no details on specifically how she was welcomed, but the fact that he recognised Charlotte as queen in exile was useful for her journey through the Italian Peninsula. For example, in a letter she wrote on 5 November 1461 in Rome to the Florentine republic, she signed herself as queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, while requesting safe access, so she could go to Savoy. The problem was for her to arrive there safely, hence her request for help from Florence.¹⁷⁰

Charlotte finally arrived in Savoy in late winter 1461¹⁷¹ hoping for more financial and military help from her husband's homeland. While it is entirely understandable that Savoy, with its stake in Charlotte's success, would continue

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.161.

¹⁶⁶ Holly S. Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice: Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus and Woman of the Renaissance* (London, 2015), p.23.

¹⁶⁷ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.583-584.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.583-584.

¹⁶⁹ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1394-1395: "Lo stesso fecero I Fiorentini e I Bolognesi e anche gli altri Stati attraverso I quail si giunse in Savoia. Tutti accolsero la regina con grandi onori, in conformità con il suo titolo".

¹⁷⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.114.

¹⁷¹ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.23.

to regard her as the legitimate queen, the degree and nature of Savoy's practical support is nevertheless revealing. Charlotte stayed in Lausanne and Thonon, and her parents-in-law indeed defrayed the cost of her stay, as we might expect of any visiting prince.¹⁷² Yet, her treatment was not as supportive as one might have assumed. According to Pius II,

in no other place Charlotte was welcomed so coldly as in Savoy. There, she was received with grim eyes, a dark face, bitter and harsh words. 'Why', the father-in-law told her, 'did you come to us at this time? Is it an honest thing that a young lady left her husband and took to the sea from East to West? [Is it an honest thing that] you are looking for hospitality in various states'? "I came", she said, "to ask for help". [The father-in-law replied saying that] 'But this is an action more appropriate for your husband than for you. How many times we have sent help! How many times we have provided support! We have provided men, weapons, wheat, money. Will there ever be a limit? Cyprus now has impoverished Savoy [with] all the riches that have been already sent to you. The region is empty. You have lost the kingdom in Cyprus and soon we deprived of our power in Savoy, if we spend all taxes and revenues on assisting you. And the mother-in-law, who was also her aunt, did not proffer better words [than those of her husband].¹⁷³

It is obvious, from this source at least, that the duke and the duchess were hostile to Charlotte's efforts to find support in Italy. The sense of indignation of the duke seems palpable: despite aiding her in the past, the kingdom was lost and the Savoy impoverished. But, if we were to believe Guichenon, Savoy's financial position was so difficult that it could not practically offer substantial support.¹⁷⁴ The duke's words, we might add, were a product of a patriarchal world, where women, including queens, were subordinated to men. Charlotte is presented as an incapable leader, lacking prudence and the capacity to make appropriate decisions, resulting in the loss of her kingdom. She should have let her husband, as a king, seek western allies, as the king.

¹⁷² Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.584.

¹⁷³ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, 1394-1397: "In nessun altro luogo fu accolta così freddamente come in Savoia. Qui fu ricevuta con occhi torvi, Volto scuro, parole acerbhe e durissime. "Perchè" le disse il suocero "vieni da noi in questo momento? È cosa onesta che una donna giovane, lasciato il marito, si metta il mare dall'Oriente all'Occidente? Che cerchi ospitalità presso tanti popoli"? "Sono venuta" dici "a chiedere aiuto". "Ma questa era un'azione più propria di tuo marito che tua. Quante Volte abbiamo inviati aiuti! Quante Volte abbiamo portato il soccorso! Abbiamo fornito ora uomini, ora armi, ora frumento, ora denaro. Ci sarà mai un limite? Cipro ormai ha impoverito la Savoia: quelle ricchezze che c'erano sono ormai passate a voi. La regione è vuota. Voi avete perso il regno a Cipro e noi presto resteremo privi del nostro potere in Savoia, se arriveremo al punto di alienare per la vostra causa tutte le tasse e gli introiti". E parole non migliori pronunciò la suocera, che era anche sua zia".

¹⁷⁴ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.541.

Charlotte's father-in-law finally agreed to help her on the condition that she would sign, in June 1462, an agreement that he had written himself. According to the document, it was agreed that both parties acceded to the following:

if Charlotte were to die before Louis, her husband, without having children, then Louis would remain the lord and king of Cyprus; and after him [the legal rights would belong] to his descendants [from another marriage], as this had been agreed and accorded in the coronation of King Louis and in the marriage contract that was accepted by all the parties. This instrument of transaction approved and confirmed all the agreements and the conventions that had been made in the said coronation, without derogating from this [agreement] in anything. But in the case that both Charlotte and Louis were to die without children, their relatives and their heirs would succeed them, according to this transaction and agreement, received by Claudio Peclet, notary and secretary, in the year 1462, 18 of June.¹⁷⁵

That last possibility was to be proven critically vital for Savoy in claiming its rights over Cyprus, as it will be seen in Chapter 3. After Charlotte signed the agreement on 18 July 1462, her father-in-law awarded her a pension of 6000 ducats per year, according to Giannotti, or 10000 ducats for approximately six to eight years, according to Hill.¹⁷⁶ The Savoyard duke, as already mentioned, thereafter paid for a mission to Cyprus in 1462 (though ineffective in retaking the island from Jacques).¹⁷⁷ Charlotte, in her 1462 letter, provided the details concerning this aid. "Our father, the duke of Savoy, received us in a very large and expensive way, and he certified the sending of a big boat in Cyprus, full of people, foodstuffs and money for helping Cerines; he was also decisive in using all his power for the recovery of our kingdom".¹⁷⁸ However, King Louis wrote in his only surviving letter that touches on this that Savoy did indeed offer support

¹⁷⁵ Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, pp.8v-9: "che morendo essa Charlotte avanti Louis suo marito senza lasciar da esso alcuni figliuoli, in tan caso ditto Louis dovere restare Signore, et Rè di Cipro, et dopò lui li suoi, come così era stato convenuto, et accordato nella incoronatione d'esso Rè Louis, et nel contratto di matrimonio, come esse parti confessano in ditto instromento di transattione, approvando, et confirmando tutti li patti, et conventioni fatte in detta conoratione, non derogando ad esse in alcuna cosa. Ma occorendo ambi esi Charlotte, et Louis venessero à morire senza figliuoli da loro procreati e successori, come di essa transattione et conventione consta instromento ricevuto per Claudio Peclet, Nodaro, et Secretario l' anno predetto 1462.li 18.di Giugno".

¹⁷⁶ Gasparo Giannotti, *Parere di Gasparo Giannotti Scritto al Signor Giulio Cesare Catelmi, sopra il Ristretto delle Rivoluzioni del Reami di Cipri, e ragioni della Serenissima Casa di Savoia sopra di esso; insieme con un breve trattato del titolo Regale dovuto a S.A.Serenissima, stampati in Torino senza nome d Autore* (Frankfurt am Main, 1633), p.5; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.587.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., pp.584-585.

¹⁷⁸ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, 119: "Monseigneur nostre pere, le duc de Savoye, à tres grant chiere nous a receue, et certifiè d'une grosse nave qu'il a derrenierement envoyé en Chipres, à tout gens, victualies et argent, pour l'entretenement dudit lieu de Cherines; qui est aussi delibéré de mectre et employer tout son pouvoir pour le recouvrement de nostre dit royaume".

on several occasions, but it did not give a sufficient amount of money.¹⁷⁹ In spite of the fact that these comments are somewhat contradictory, it is noteworthy that Savoy did help the royal couple in that financially difficult time.

Meanwhile, Charlotte was planning her return to Cyprus, seeking to gain even more assistance. Quite apart from the fact that it demonstrates a degree of determination on her part, it also suggests that Savoy's aid was not enough on its own. While Charlotte was in Savoy, Sor de Naves, the leader of Charlotte's retinue and the captain of her boats, visited Lausanne. He had, then, been dispatched by Charlotte and Louis of Cyprus to seek help to man a galley then close to Nice, in the port of Villefranche. Within fifteen days the galley should have been ready to depart for Cyprus, though 2000 ingots of gold were required to ready it. The duke of Savoy was going to give 300 ingots after Charlotte had signed the will discussed earlier in this chapter,¹⁸⁰ but still more help was necessary. Although this letter does not by itself demonstrate whether this help was received or not, it nevertheless corroborates the general sense that Charlotte was determined, as a queen in exile, to find more supporters to facilitate her return as a queen in Cyprus.

Another facet of the exiled queen's strategy to regain her kingdom was to seek assistance from Genoa via her Savoyard father-in-law.¹⁸¹ It is worth reiterating that the Genoese had significant incentives to support Charlotte; they had been in control of the city and the main port of Famagusta since 1383, and it was understandably feared that they could lose it to Jacques. In 1462, Charlotte sent a letter to her parents-in-law, signing it as queen of Cyprus, in which she focused on the offer Genoa had given. More specifically, she wrote that "first of all, thinking about the recommendation that the Genoese made to the ambassador and about the reasons that you are going to say, it seems to me that to rescue my [castle in Cerines] and the king and to regain the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.141.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.117.

¹⁸¹ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.23.

kingdom, the shortest and most secure way is that of Genoa".¹⁸² However, the cost of this trip was substantial enough for Savoy to subsidise it by itself. Charlotte recommended that Savoyards should accept the Genoese help which had been offered. If they did that, Genoese soldiers would accompany Savoyard soldiers in Charlotte's company. Moreover, Charlotte suggested that if they were to accept Genoa's help, then the Genoese should receive the salt tax from Nice for six years.¹⁸³

While in Savoy, Charlotte needed to find even more external support. For example, as she wrote herself in her 1466 letter, "the king of France, whose embassy arrived before my said lord and father [the duke of Savoy], by which we were assured that the king was really willing to help us and secure the recovery of our kingdom".¹⁸⁴ Although the details about this agreement are unknown, the French king was seemingly willing to support her ambition to return to Cyprus. According to Louis' 1466 letter, Charlotte organised a diplomatic mission to Aragon with Savoyard financial support. In spite of the fact that, as he wrote, it was not a significant amount of money for Savoy,¹⁸⁵ it reinforces the sense that the duke of Savoy was willing to aid Charlotte. However, before giving details about that mission, a related surviving letter of the queen written on 17 February 1462 requires consideration. According to this letter, which Charlotte sent from Lausanne to her ambassadors, Guillaume d'Allinges and Jacques Lambert, she was ordering them to go to Barcelona with a double mission: first, to meet the new Commander of Rhodes to request his cooperation in order to retake Cyprus, and secondly, to visit the king of Aragon to complain about the support he was offering to Jacques. The two men were first to thank the Commander of Rhodes for the aid, support and money that the

¹⁸² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.115: "Premyerement, consideré les presantasiouns que les Janevois ont fait à l'abasadour, et pour les razouns que vous aura dé dire, y me semble que pour secourir mon redoubté seigneur le roy et recouvrer mon rofama, la plus brief et plus seure voye est par Jaines".

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp.115-116.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p.119: "Le roy de France, qui est venus en ambassade devers mondit seigneur et pere, lequel nous a asseurée que le roy a tres grant vouloir de nous aider et secourir au recouvrement de nostredid royaume".

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.141-142.

previous Commander had given to Charlotte. Then, they were to express their hope of receiving help from him too.¹⁸⁶

In terms of the first mission, the Knights of Rhodes were asked once more for support, something that may suggest that they were still helping the exiled queen. According to Charlotte's plan, it was the right time for the two men to ask the new Commander of Rhodes if he intended to help them. If the answer was positive, they ought to ask him to clarify the kind of aid he was able to supply; if he was willing to give money, they were supposed to specify the amount; if he was planning to send aid in the form of people, they should incite him to define the number. Nonetheless, they should indicate that they needed around 3000 infantry and 3000 cavalry; were he not in position to grant this number, they should inform him that 2000 of each was adequate. What is more, all those men were to be paid, though since it would be difficult for Charlotte to undertake the costs herself, she suggested that after the recapture of Cyprus, the Commander of Rhodes could permanently benefit from the profits and taxes of one or two Cypriot commands. After that, Guillaume d'Allinges and Jacques Lambert, should suggest to the Commander of Rhodes that he should go to Nice to meet Charlotte and her followers, and then take the galley of Sor de Naves from there with them and travel to Rhodes and Cyprus.¹⁸⁷ Charlotte was evidently trying to overcome the obstacle of not having financial security, by making promises of future benefits to the potential allies from a possible return of her as a queen in Cyprus. Her difficulty, according to her own letter, was the lack of money, not her gender.

As for the second mission, Guillaume d' Allinges and Jacques Lambert planned to visit the king of Aragon, as he was helping the "Bastard", as Jacques was called. Their aim was to impress on the king that by supporting Jacques, he correspondingly made an enemy of Charlotte. In order to convince him to stop sponsoring Jacques, the letter the two carried with them enumerated various supporters of the queen, demonstrating that she had already persuaded other rulers to help her retake her kingdom. Furthermore, the two

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.118-120.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.120-121.

men furthermore intended to ask him to send officially an ambassador to Cyprus to instruct his men to stop supporting Jacques, given that as far as Charlotte was concerned, he was not a legitimate ruler.¹⁸⁸ The two men were to impress on the king of Aragon (however true it might have been) that Louis and Charlotte were close to taking their kingdom back. To strengthen the case, they were to mention that the royal couple had already sent letters asking for help from France, Burgundy, and Genoa, as well as from (unspecified) friends and relatives of the queen. Also, the duke of Savoy was trying to staff the enterprise with a strong army in support of the royal couple's efforts to retake their kingdom. At the same time, the pope was by Charlotte's side, given that Jacques was allied with the sultan of Egypt. In effect, the mission was to impress that Charlotte was fighting for Christianity, so every Christian ruler should back her.¹⁸⁹

In June 1462, Charlotte left Savoy, in her search for still more allies. Before returning to Rhodes she visited in 1462 Mantua, Venice and Genoa¹⁹⁰ In the same year, Charlotte returned to Rhodes, though she never went to France as she had intended, according to Pius.¹⁹¹ According to a 1466 letter of King Louis, Charlotte returned to Rhodes even poorer than when she left after the Venetians had illegally seized her treasures.¹⁹² It should be underlined that there is relatively little information that enables us to know exactly where she was during the period after her return to Rhodes, in 1462. The surviving material suggests that she spent most of her time in Rhodes, but that does not mean she did not move for a short time to other places. In 1463, from Rhodes she was in contact with the new Sultan of Egypt, Khushkadam (r. 1461-1467), trying to convince him to support her (despite previously arguing that Egyptian aid was contrary to the interests of Christian powers and accusing Jacques of being a pseudochristian for accepting Egypt's support).¹⁹³ The same year she also sent, from Cerines to Constantinople, the count of Jaffa, Jacques de Flory

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.121.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.122-123.

¹⁹⁰ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1394-1397; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.588.

¹⁹¹ Pio II, *Commentarii II*, pp.1394-1397.

¹⁹² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.141-142.

¹⁹³ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.592.

(r. 1439-1463), to ask the Ottoman sultan, who had taken Jacques's side in the past, to back her in return for Cerines.¹⁹⁴ Evidently, while she sought support from various Christian rulers claiming that she was a legitimate ruler in exile and was fighting for Christianity against the Muslims (though also ironically the Egyptian sultan, the overlord of Cyprus); nonetheless she would accept support from the Ottomans. Perhaps by demonstrating a willingness to do anything to take back her kingdom, Charlotte was an opportunist ruler in exile playing the game of strategy and diplomacy. As Hurlburt wrote, Charlotte "waged an unflagging campaign to win back her kingdom".¹⁹⁵

But in 1463 and the following years, a series of circumstances acted against her, and contributed to her losing Cyprus to her step-brother and illegitimate usurper. Firstly, in early 1463, Duke Louis of Savoy was unable to man the galleys he intended to send to Cerines.¹⁹⁶ Secondly, again in early 1463, Charlotte's husband, Louis, left Cerines and Cyprus.¹⁹⁷ Thirdly, in 1464 Jacques took possession of Famagusta from the Genoese and Cerines, the only city that Charlotte had controlled (it was captured by 8 November).¹⁹⁸ By then, it was even more difficult for Charlotte to regain her throne, given Jacques's strengthening position and strategy that offered him not only control of the whole island, but which also persuaded more Cypriots to take his side. What might seem as "bribes", including properties, offices, land, pensions or other rewards, had been given to about 200 people who had supported him to become the new monarch. Privileges had also been given to the Sicilians and Catalans who had helped him take the throne.¹⁹⁹ Fourthly, in January 1465, Louis of Savoy died and his son Amedeo IX (r. 1465-1472) succeeded him.²⁰⁰ While Louis had, perhaps weakly, offered Charlotte support, Amedeo did not follow the same strategy of his father - the recapture of Cyprus was not one of his priorities. Finally, when Pope Pius II died in 1464, his successor, Paul II (r.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p.589; Perbellini, "La storia", 45.

¹⁹⁵ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.23.

¹⁹⁶ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.588-589.

¹⁹⁷ Monod, *Trattato*, pp.22-23.

¹⁹⁸ Giuseppe Campolieti, *Caterina Cornaro. Regina di Cipro, signora di Asolo* (Milan, 1987), p.31; Costas Kyrris, *History of Cyprus with an introduction to the Geography of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985), pp.235-236; Edbury, "Οι Λουζινιανοί", 322.

¹⁹⁹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.621-622.

²⁰⁰ Perbellini, "La storia", 45.

1464-1471), himself Venetian, recognised Jacques officially as the king of Cyprus.²⁰¹ This was obviously a big blow for the exiled queen, given the support and sovereign recognition from the previous pope. During Paul II's papacy, there is indeed no mention of any help given to Charlotte. The obstacles Charlotte faced during those years were demonstrably insurmountable, so no matter how many supporters she had gained to return as a queen in Cyprus, it was still not enough.

Besides, Venice steadily hardened its policy against Charlotte, and, as will be analysed later in this chapter, became one of Charlotte's main enemies. By 1465, the signs of a change of policy were becoming evident. On 6 June 1465, the Venetian Senate replied officially to the ambassadors of Louis of Cyprus and the duke of Savoy. His ambassadors had a double mission, first to inform the Venetians that the French king and the duke of Burgundy had sent their supporting letters to Queen Charlotte, and secondly to complain to the Venetians about their help to Jacques. Before analysing the letter, it should be noted that Charlotte is mentioned as queen of Cyprus, Louis as king of Cyprus, and Jacques neither as king of Cyprus nor as Bastard. Rather, he and his supporters are styled "parti adverse" (the other parties).²⁰² The Venetian Senate's response to the ambassadors of King Louis and Duke Louis focuses on an event that happened close to Rhodes. Savoyard galleys, under the authorities of Sor de Naves, had been transferring pepper, but a Venetian captain, who happened to be in Rhodes at the time, took the cargo and transferred it to Venice, resulting in a complaint from the ambassadors of King Louis and Savoy. The Venetian Senate replied saying that the Venetian captain had taken the pepper as contrariwise, Savoyards were guilty of attacking the Venetian galley and stealing their products. In fact, that was not the first time that Savoyard galleys had acted like that, so the Venetians argued - claims that the Savoyards were engaged in piratical actions were dangerous for Queen Charlotte as she neared leaving Rhodes.²⁰³ Certainly, when the Venetian

²⁰¹ Παυλίδης, *Ιστορία Κύπρου III*, pp.286-287.

²⁰² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.129-132.

²⁰³ Ibid., pp.130-131.

galleys arrived, they made the situation more complicated. But they could not do anything else without risking the safety of Charlotte.

Charlotte soon after visited Venice herself (Venice was at war with the Ottomans between 1463 and 1479), and while there she was reminded of the the help she had already received from Venice. More specifically, the Venetian authorities had welcomed her as a ruler, encouraged her not to lose her faith and provided advice on how to regain the island. Moreover, they gave her 1000 ducats, with an additional sum of money to her husband Louis.²⁰⁴ Meanwhile, according to the same letter, the Venetian Senate underlined that they had not helped the “other part” (Jacques), as they had already decided to remain neutral. Furthermore, the letter made it clear that the Savoyards and the Cypriot king and queen had no grounds to complain, because Venice was favourable to their side, grounded on their previous good relations.²⁰⁵ Finally, the Venetian Senate admitted that their captain had taken the pepper from the Savoyard galleys, but, he done so only because the Savoyards had themselves caused damage and injuries.²⁰⁶ Evidently, the Venetian authorities did not admit guilt for any of the charges levelled by King Louis and the Savoyard duke. They underlined that they had to take the pepper without any other possible choice. Besides, when Charlotte visited them, not only did they give her money, but they also gave her support and advice. The Savoyards are presented as pirates who had stolen Charlotte’s belongings, an event that Venice could not condone.

At the same time, Savoy was rolling-back from their promises to Charlotte. As it had briefly been mentioned, the new duke of Savoy and brother of King Louis, Amedeo IX, did not follow the same strategy towards Cyprus as his father. A letter of King Louis from 1466, partly mentioned already, written as a reply to a letter sent by his brother duke of Savoy Amedeo about the expenses of his brother in Cyprus, indicates that Amedeo did not really want to help his brother King Louis financially; he also accused him of spending

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.131-132.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.132.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p.132.

enormous amount of money for Cyprus. Consequently, Amedeo IX offered him only 1000 ducats when his father, Duke Louis, had helped his second-born son and his daughter-in-law retake the kingdom. However, the amount of money spent was not that significant either. This letter, discussed below, is the only surviving “voice” of King Louis as all the other letters were written and sent by his wife, Charlotte.²⁰⁷ King Louis claimed that the help that he had asked for initially from his father Louis and then from his brother Amedeo was nothing special if we consider the amount of money the duchy had. He asked for help for three reasons: “[T]he one for the defence and rescue of Cerines and the situations inside, the other to help the situation of the queen, his wife [who was abroad] and the third to pay the expenses for the trips to France and in Burgundy”. For the amount of money, Savoy should not have asked for aid; but it did as the duke of Burgundy and the king of France sent the majority of the flour to Cerines.²⁰⁸ Meanwhile, King Louis asked his brother to send him proof about the claim that he had spent the money. More convincingly, he claimed that having the money he supposedly gained from their father, he would definitely have taken the kingdom back from Jacques and Charlotte would not have been obliged to travel from one country to another asking for help. But, as their father died recently, King Louis asked for fortune share of the inheritance as the second-born-son.²⁰⁹ Finally, King Louis informed his brother that he was not going to accept his paltry help of 1000 ducats. He preferred, so he claimed, to lose his kingdom without help than to have insignificant help and lose the kingdom regardless.²¹⁰

It should be noted that this change of attitude from the new duke of Savoy, did not affect the way Charlotte was perceived by other European sovereigns. For example, the Grand Master of Rhodes, Pierre Ramond Zacosta, wrote, on 22 December 1466, a letter to Charlotte mentioning her with her full title “[S]erenissime principisse ac illustrissime domine nobis

²⁰⁷ Ibid., pp.133-138.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.141-142: “L’une pour l’entretien et secours de Cherines et des estans dedens, l’autre pour l’estat de la royne sa compaignie, et la tierce pour supplir aux despens par luy fais en France, quant fut par devers le roy et monseigneur de Bourgoingne”.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.143-144.

²¹⁰ Ibid., pp.143-144.

observantissime, domine Karlotte Jherusalem Cypri et Armenie regine”.²¹¹ However, it did not mean that she faced no challenges to her authority from the local authorities in Rhodes. Zacosta informed her that her request to return for a period of time to the island for a period of time was accepted, but that members of her entourage would not be allowed to marry locals. If this were to happen, they would have to follow her and live with support from Charlotte on her departure.²¹² It should also be mentioned that in another letter dated 26 February 1469, the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Orsini, decided that Charlotte should start receiving thirty florins per month for her expenses in Rhodes, as an indication of some continuing support.²¹³

As mentioned, in 1470, Venice lost Negroponte in the wake of which Pope Sixtus IV sought to organise a new crusade, fearing for the loss of security of the Italian peninsula.²¹⁴ To achieve this, he tried to affectuate peace between the Christian states.²¹⁵ Venice was supportive as it could keep its eastern Mediterranean colonies.²¹⁶ The duchy of Moscow was itself positive on the condition that Grand Duke Ivan III would marry Zoe (Sofia) Palaeologina, daughter of Thomas Palaeologos, Despot of Morea and the legitimate claimant of Byzantium, who lived in Rome in his final years, receiving an annual pension, which after his death was given to his children. The dowry Ivan would give, as it was agreed, would be used in the crusade.²¹⁷ However, Ivan did not concede his support to Rome after the wedding.²¹⁸ In this crusade, Uzun Hasan, the ruler of Akkoyunlu agreed to participate as well (despite not being Christian).²¹⁹ However, the crusade never took place.

²¹¹ Ibid., p.144.

²¹² Ibid., pp.144-146.

²¹³ Ibid., p.148.

²¹⁴ Antonín Kalous, “Papal Legates and Crusading Activity in Central Europe: The Hussites and the Ottoman Turks” in Norman Housley, ed., *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures* (Abingdon, 2017), 82.

²¹⁵ Liliu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century* (Leiden, 2018), pp.135-136.

²¹⁶ Ibid., pp.136-137.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p.137.

²¹⁸ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. II. The Fifteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1978), pp.318-319.

²¹⁹ Pilat and Cristea, *Crusading*, p.137.

After the loss of Negroponte, Venetians started collaborating with Uzun Hasan against the Ottomans, accentuating the strategic importance of Cyprus to the republic.²²⁰ In 1472 (the year Caterina Cornaro arrived in Cyprus), Uzun Hasan attacked Asia Minor supported financially and militarily by Genoa and Venice, while he was also in alliance with Rhodes and Cyprus.²²¹ Jacques II of Cyprus sent a letter on 18 February 1472 to Venice's doge regarding the support they were going to send to Uzun Hasan (in galleys), in his war against the Ottomans "[T]herefore, we will be in a great danger, all of us the Christian princes, as we are in the biggest maze and future ruins".²²² In spite of the support, Hasan, in 1472, lost all his territories in Asia Minor to the Ottomans. Only the coasts of Cilicia were now unoccupied by the Ottoman hands as they were still under the Mamluks.²²³ In 1473, Venice, sought to join forces with Uzun Hasan and wage war on the Ottomans.²²⁴ However, in 1473, Mehmed and Kayitbay finally cooperated after they discovered Uzun Hasan's plan to capture their territories with the support of Venice and other European rulers.²²⁵ This was possibly connected to the fact that in early 1473, Jacques denied the access of the armed Venetian galley to Famagusta, fearful of Venice's military might and retaliation from the Ottomans. This was emphasised in the same year after Jacques' II death, combined with the toppling of Uzun Hasan at Bashjent in August 1473.²²⁶

The late fifteenth century was evidently a difficult period for eastern Mediterranean states. Jacques, although a usurper, was a male ruler with authority over all of Cyprus (including Famagusta). Charlotte, as a female ruler, would probably have had to face even more challenges because of her gender. Regardless of all these adverse circumstances, Charlotte still believed that she could reclaim Cyprus. A very good opportunity to accomplish this arose when

²²⁰ Peter Edbury "The Latin East, 1291-1669" in Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1999), 297.

²²¹ Mehrdad Kia, *The Ottoman Empire* (London, 2008), pp.43-44.

²²² Mas-Latrie, *Nouveaux*, pp.412-414: "Propterea, quod is in magno videbitur periculo, et nos omnes Christianos principes in Maximo essemus laberyntho et futura ruina".

²²³ Joachim, "Caterina", p.131.

²²⁴ H. R. Roemer, "The Türkmen Dynasties" in Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. VI, The Timurid and Safavid Periods (Cambridge, 1986), p.180.

²²⁵ Har-El, *Domination*, pp.97-99.

²²⁶ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.59 ; Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.336-343.

her step-brother Jacques died unexpectedly in 1473, leaving his wife, Caterina Cornaro, a widow and pregnant with their unborn child (the son, James III).²²⁷ A Savoyard contemporary document mentions that when the “tyrant” step-brother died, Charlotte started urgently to plan her next moves in spite of the fact that Jacques’s widow, Caterina Cornaro, was supported by Venice.²²⁸ More specifically, as it is generally accepted by both contemporary and later sources, Charlotte instantly tried to implement her plans in place in Rhodes in order to regain her throne, though that was not possible without a powerful state by her side.²²⁹ Besides, it was even more difficult as most of the local barons of Cyprus had already expressed their fidelity to Jacques’s wife Caterina, and a mission was dispatched to Egypt to inform the sultan about Jacques’s sudden death with the aim of securing recognition of Caterina’s son as the rightful heir to the throne.²³⁰ For her part, Charlotte sent an ambassador to Egypt too, but unfortunately for her, he switched to supporting Caterina.²³¹ In any case, Charlotte’s principal enemy was Venice.²³² Charlotte also sent an envoy to the Venetian admiral of the fleet, arguing that she was the real queen of Cyprus, but he replied that “as regards what you say, that the bastard was holding the kingdom unjustly and that now the queen wants it as the heir, I reply to you: he held the kingdom as king, just as the sultan had appointed him. In addition, I am obliged to work for my ladyship [Queen Catherine] rather than for her ladyship Queen Charlotte. And this is my answer”.²³³ In general, the obstacles, principally Venice, Charlotte faced were insurmountable. But, her ambition to return to Cyprus did not entirely dissipate.

However, the aforementioned aspiration proved impossible. The island was transformed steadily into a Venetian colony, hosting increasing levels of Venetian military power. As the Provveditore Generale of Venice in Cyprus,

²²⁷ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, pp.27-28.

²²⁸ AST RC, Mazzo 1 (1381-1485), 2: *Relazione della Regia Famiglia Lisignana di Cipro, come sia rimasta estinta, con quali ragioni la Casa di Savoia si assuma il Titolo, et lus di quel Regno, e come la Republica di Venetia ne ostenta le sue pretensioni*, unpaginated.

²²⁹ Ibid.; BNM BS, 172; Domenico Malipiero, “Annali Veneti”, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VII (1844), 599; Bustron, *Chronique*, p.434.

²³⁰ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 2: *Relazione*.

²³¹ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.434.

²³² Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.364-365.

²³³ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.123.

Vittorio Soranzo, wrote in a letter to the doge, in December 1473, apprising him of the situation in Cyprus after the death of Jacques,²³⁴ "[T]he guarding continues all over the territories [of Cyprus] day and night, infantry and cavalry."²³⁵ He added that "[T]he ship of Malipiera that goes to Syria, already for several days can be found in the salines [of Cyprus]".²³⁶ In 1474, Charlotte tried one more time to regain Cyprus, when the legitimate son of Jacques II and Caterina Cornaro, the one-year-old-infant Jacques III, died. She urgently sent representatives to Venice claiming the throne. But, the reply was that the sultan, the feudal lord of the island, had chosen Jacques years ago, and Caterina was legitimately on the throne.²³⁷ Again, though, Charlotte did not yield, as she tried to find support from Savoy, from King Ferdinando of Naples, from the duke of Milan and from Genoese.²³⁸ She left Genoa in 1474, and after visiting her husband in Moncalier on 3 June 1475, she arrived in Rome,²³⁹ where she remained until 1484 in receipt of "[a] residence in the Castel Sant'Angelo and a small stipend" from Pope Sixtus IV.²⁴⁰ On 8 June 1475, she was formally received by the Pope, though there are no details as to the nature of the welcominh.²⁴¹ It was during this period that the pope decided to restore the church and hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome and Charlotte had the honour of being painted in one fresco. While this will be analysed in Chapter 5, it should be noted here that her inclusion in a papal commission which depicted her with various European rulers, suggested that at least from Rome's perspective, she retained her sovereign status.

Despite all the aforesaid obstacles, Charlotte never abandoned her attempts to return as a queen in Cyprus. She still posed a threat to Venice, along with the three illegitimate children of Jacques II (Charlotte, Jean, Eugène). Indeed, all three children, along with Jacques II's mother, Marietta,

²³⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Nouveaux*, pp.428-431.

²³⁵ Ibid., p.428: "Le guardie per tutta la terra di e note si continua, sì a pe come a cavallo".

²³⁶ Ibid., p.429: "La nave Malipiera che va in Soriam za più zorni se attrova alle Saline".

²³⁷ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.367-368.

²³⁸ Alvise Zorzi, *Una Città, una Repubblica, Un Impero: Venezia 697-1797* (Milan, 1994), pp.149-150; Perbellini, "La storia", 46.

²³⁹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.602-603.

²⁴⁰ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.24.

²⁴¹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.603.

were moved to Venetian territory in 1478.²⁴² That was because, according to Jacques II's will (Appendix 2), in case of death of Jacques III, his illegitimate children, not his wife, Caterina, were to be his successors.²⁴³ It was under these circumstances that, on 30 October 1476, the three children and their grandmother arrived in Venice and then, in August 1478, were transferred to the castle of Padua. They were not allowed to leave the castle without permission from the Council of Ten.²⁴⁴ Venice's action perhaps suggests that Caterina's security as queen of Cyprus was not as stable as it might have seemed, and would have been still less so if those three illegitimate children of her husband were not under the republic's immediate control.

In fact, in 1478, the Venetian Senate confiscated letters that were supposed to be sent from Genoa to Charlotte, who was then living in Rome, from Genoa and which concerned the search for funding to regain her kingdom. Antonio Vinciverra, the Venetian ambassador in Florence, was sent to Rome to meet Charlotte according to a letter dated 9 August 1478. In the letter, the queen was referred to only as "madona Carlota" and his mission was to ask her to show him the original letters from the Genoese, which were still in her hands. He was to tell her that the republic did not want to be one of her enemies, as they were favourably disposed towards her. Contrariwise, Charlotte should harbour no ill-will towards Venice as the republic was not responsible for the loss of her kingdom. If she showed them the original letters, she would be able to live in a Venetian territory and receive an annual pension of 5000 golden ducats,²⁴⁵ if she were to live in any Venetian property. However, Charlotte declined the offer.²⁴⁶ This letter though, which was sent almost three years after Jacques Lusignan II died, may suggest that Venice was concerned by Charlotte's efforts to retake her kingdom. Besides, Jacques III had died by this point as well. According to Jacques II's will, Caterina had no right to be called queen of Cyprus after the death of their child. If the child were to die, then his illegitimate offspring would become the rulers. If they were to die as well, then

²⁴² Perbellini, "La storia", 47.

²⁴³ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.119.

²⁴⁴ Αριστειδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, pp.143-144.

²⁴⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.148-150.

²⁴⁶ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.608-609.

the nearest heir from the Lusignan dynasty would have a claim to the crown. So, in spite of Caterina being supported by Venice, Charlotte arguably still had her royal rights to Cyprus. That was a matter of concern for Venice. Unable to deal with the Venetians, in the same year, Charlotte, who was a widow from August as Louis had died in Prieurè de Ripaille,²⁴⁷ planned to go to Egypt to engage this time with the sultan directly.²⁴⁸ Although this mission did not take place, it demonstrates once again Charlotte's determination to recover her kingdom.

Six years later, there is evidence that Charlotte was still trying to return as queen in Cyprus. According to a letter written on 16 March 1484, the king of Naples, Ferdinando I, wanted to send Charlotte back to Cyprus in an effort to retake her kingdom from the Venetians. In order to achieve this, Ferdinando had support from the Genoese and the agreement of Pope Sixtus IV. He also asked Florence for aid, but they refused, because they could not afford the cost at the time.²⁴⁹ This information demonstrates two things. First, that Charlotte was fighting almost until the end of her life to retake her kingdom. The second point is related with the parallel queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, who, in 1484, was the sole ruler in Cyprus, given that both her husband, the king, had died. However, in this letter she remains completely unmentioned, suggesting possibly a diminished public identity.

Unable to retake the throne, in 1485 Charlotte, whilst in Rome, renounced her claims to the Cypriot throne and bequeathed her rights to Savoy with an agreement signed on 25 February with Duke Carlo I of Savoy (r. 1482-1490) (Appendix 4). As stated by the document, Charlotte would retain the title of "queen of Cyprus" until her death, but, at the same time, the Savoyard duke, Carlo I, would also be able to use the royal title.²⁵⁰ The agreement will be analysed in Chapter 3. The next day, on 26 February 1485, Charlotte signed another agreement with Carlo I, according to which Savoy would give her an

²⁴⁷ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.544.

²⁴⁸ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, pp.27-28.

²⁴⁹ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.151.

²⁵⁰ AST RC, Mazzo 1 (1381-1485),12: *Ritratto autentico della donazione di Charlotte Regina di Cipro al Duca Carlo di Savoia e ell'istesso Regno di Cipro*; Guichenon, *Histoire*, Book 4, pp.401-403.

annual pension of 4300 florins and also pay the expenses of her household.²⁵¹ On 16 July 1487, she died and was buried the same day in St Peter's Basilica, in Rome.²⁵² On 21 July 1487, the Pope Innocent VIII sent a letter to Carlo I of Savoy (Appendix 3), informing him of Charlotte's death, and mentioning her with her full title: "[C]harlotte queen of Cyprus, your consanguineous (relative), after a long exile, many misfortunes to which she was always constant and she had a religious spirit, her last breath was given to the God".²⁵³ On 31 July 1487, the official mass of Charlotte was paid by Pope Innocent.²⁵⁴ Her tomb in St Peter's bears the inscription "KAROLA HIERVSALEM, CYPRI, ET ARMENIÆ REGINA. OBIIT XVI. IULII ANNO DOMINI M.CCCC.LXXX XVII".²⁵⁵ In death, as in life, she remained queen of Cyprus.

Standing back from this detailed narrative, it can clearly be argued that Charlotte was a queen in exile. First of all, she retained her royal title, which is indicated in a range of examples; from her titles in her letters and even in her tomb in St Peter's. Secondly, according to the surviving information, she was welcomed as a queen, not only in Savoy, but also in Rome, Florence, Bologna and Venice. Pope Pius II welcomed her as a ruler in exile in public, in front of the cardinals and the Curia, and also informed Jacques's ambassadors that the recognised ruler of the island was Charlotte, and the second one included her in a series of frescoes with European rulers inside the Vatican Palace; a great honour for the exiled queen and a lasting recognition of her sovereign status. Thirdly, she gained support from various rulers in her campaign to regain her kingdom; the Knights of Rhodes first helped her immediately after she fled from Cyprus and urgently needed help to continue her trip, asking for support from various rulers. Also, in 1466, they added a monthly pension for her expenses in Rhodes. Then, Pope Pius, who was organising a crusade in East

²⁵¹ AST RC, Mazzo 2 (1485-1632),1: *Trattato seguito in Roma tra la Regina Charlotte di Cipro e li Dupitati del Cuca Carlo di Savoia dopo che fu stipulata la Donazione della med.ma Regina fatta al Duca del Regno di Cipro*; Louis Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.151.

²⁵² Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.612.

²⁵³ AST RC, Mazzo 2 (1485-1632),3: *Breve del Papa Innocenzo VIII di notificazione al Duca Carlo di Savoia della morte di Charlotte Regina di Cipro*; Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, 10r-10v: "Carola Regina Cipri cosanguine a tua post diuturnu exilium, totq; fortunæ impetus, quos ipsa semper constanti, et religioso animo pertulit, extremu spiritum nuper Domino reddidit".

²⁵⁴ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.612.

²⁵⁵ Monod, *Trattato*, pp.39-40.

Mediterranean, supported her journey through the Italian Peninsula, so she could visit her parents-in-law in Savoy. As for the duke and duchess of Savoy, they helped her when she was still in Cyprus, paid her expenditure for her stay in Savoy, gave her a pension, and organised, in 1462, a mission to retake Cyprus. This mission garnered support from other powers too - Genoa, the king of France and the Burgundian duke. Moreover, King Ferdinando of Naples wanted to help her by offering her support and his son for her to marry. Finally, Charlotte obviously had enemies too, such as the sultan of Egypt and overlord of the island who chose Jacques; the Ottoman sultan, who warned the Egyptian sultan not to take Charlotte's side; the Venetians who stole her belongings outside Rhodes and then took Jacques's side as the Venetian Caterina Cornaro was married to him, and finally the king of Aragon who helped Jacques. Charlotte, a queen in exile, had both supporters and enemies, though a claim to legitimacy was not itself sufficient to retain control of the kingdom; power was vital too.

* * *

This chapter has constructed a narrative of Charlotte as queen regnant of Cyprus and then as queen in exile. When Charlotte ruled as a resident queen in Cyprus for only six years, she was very young, and although she was trained to be queen, she lacked the skills needed of prudence, political capacity and experience in warfare. Her failure as a female ruler in Cyprus (1458-1464) suggests that she had a personal responsibility for losing her crown. She lacked both the power and the support within Cyprus to stand out against her illegitimate brother, although she was expected to be queen. She was neither an effective communicator, nor understood the gravity of her situation (as the island was facing a civil war). The fact that her husband was unpopular only made her situation worse - the majority of locals preferred Jacques. All these reasons contributed to Charlotte losing her throne to Jacques, who is presented as a decisive, prudent ruler with military experience. Charlotte did not lose Cyprus just because of her gender though, as she also lacked political and military experience.

But, as Charlotte became older, she exhibited a more dynamic character and never desisted from attempting to return to Cyprus as queen trying to undertake a military campaign in order to retake her kingdom. One might also conclude from Charlotte and Jacques's rivalry that the ideal king or queen needed both legitimacy and power. Charlotte was a princess of pure royal blood, but without sufficient power and support; she lost her kingdom. On the other side of the equation, though, Jacques was a powerful male ruler with military experience and success (such as the acquisition of Famagusta). However, this alone was insufficient to secure his position on the throne, as he was an illegitimate king. He also needed powerful supporters as well, and in this regard, he was markedly more successful than Charlotte. Having the sultan of Egypt by his side was certainly beneficial, but he needed more supporters. For these reasons, he emphasised that although he was supported by the Muslims, he remained Christian; he even sent an envoy to the Italian Peninsula as well, to explain his side and also, he was in contact with even more rulers, such as the king of Aragon.

In exile (1464-1487), Charlotte was a queen forced from her throne by coercion but who, nevertheless, remained a queen. Her principal aim was to regain Cyprus, although from exile she was unable to exercise some of the powers she used to have back in Cyprus, such as the authority to mint coins and the raising of taxes. As a case study, Charlotte's exile fits into the typology of rulers who lost their kingdoms, but not their titles. Enumerating all the reasons, the first one is that although she was in exile and despite the difficulties she faced, her life was not so hard. In the first place, she was surrounded by elites, at least indirectly, and symbolically perhaps, underscoring her sovereign status. Secondly, she was the only princess of pure royal blood and she never recognised Jacques II, Jacques III and Caterina Cornaro as the official rulers of Cyprus. Rather, she maintained that they were all illegitimate rulers. Also, for all those years her sole aim was to return back home as a queen in her island and she never abandoned her efforts to achieve that. Fourthly, she kept her royal title to the end of her life - she signed her letters with it and even in her tomb the inscription included her full royal title. Additionally, she never lost sovereign recognition from other rulers, despite

living in exile for twenty-three years: she was welcomed as the only legitimate ruler of the island by Savoy, two popes (Pius II who welcomed her in public audience and Sixtus IV who included her in a series of frescoes depicting European rulers), Florence, Bologna, and even Venice (we might note the irony). She also managed to find allies and supporters who provided her with financial aid, mainly the Knights of Rhodes, the Papacy and Savoy. She was a ruler in exile who gained military support as Savoy organised a mission in Cyprus, to which other states offered to help too - Genoa, France and Burgundy. Finally, although she was exiled and without significant personal power, her royal title was still a lure in attracting other rulers. That much is suggested by the fact that King Ferdinando of Naples offered her support and her son as her new husband. For all these reasons, Charlotte fits into the typology of a sovereign ruler in exile.

Chapter 2

Caterina Cornaro in Cyprus and in Exile

The first section of the thesis details the lives of two Lusignan queens of Cyprus, Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro, while they were the queens regnant in Cyprus (1458-1464 and 1472-1489 respectively). This provides the context of their reigns in the patriarchal society of Cyprus and furthermore considers the extent to which they were able to govern independently or were controlled by Savoy and Venice respectively, as well as the challenges they faced in losing their thrones and as exiles (1464-1487 for Charlotte and 1489-1510 for Caterina). The present study has also contextualised their cases to consider the degree to which they fit into a typology of rulers in exile, by enumerating the indicators of their sovereignty they had, such as whether they retained their royal titles and functioning courts until their deaths, and if they were recognised by other rulers. While Chapter 1 analysed the life of Charlotte in Cyprus and in exile, Chapter 2 deals with the case of Caterina, a Venetian noble who was not raised to be a queen. The chapter focuses on the period after she was engaged by proxy in 1468 to Jacques II (r. 1463-1473) in Venice, the period of her reign as a queen of Cyprus (consort, regent and finally regnant) and her role as a counsellor to Venice. Other focal points of this chapter are the influences her family exerted while she was ruling, the prelude to her departure and finally her years of exile.

Comparisons between Caterina and the case of Charlotte will be made wherever necessary as they had almost parallel, but markedly different, lives; Both queens left their kingdom without immediate heirs in place and had to carve-out lives in exile. Another common feature is that both of them retained their royal titles in exile and died as queens in exile. But there were differences as Charlotte was exiled by coercion while Caterina by design; she handed her royal crown to Venice. Additionally, Charlotte faced external exile, while Caterina, although she left Cyprus, was exiled in her family's homeland, Venice.

Before analysing Caterina as a ruler, it is necessary to look first at her family background to understand its dynamics and power. The Cornaro family claimed antique origins, from the "Gens Cornelia", which denoted they were an ancient-aristocratic-Venetian-family with pure noble blood.²⁵⁶ They were among the Venetian ruling families, and had also been undertaking commerce for centuries, in various places, such as Constantinople, Cyprus, Alexandria and the Aegean Sea.²⁵⁷ Their power was further reflected in the public offices held by various members: the family included four doges and seven cardinals, while others served as procurators, ambassadors, admirals and high state officials.²⁵⁸ In terms of Cyprus specifically, the Cornaros of Cyprus were known as Corner-Piscopia because of a fief with sugar cane in the area of Episcopi, which the family cultivated and traded,²⁵⁹ and which had been given by King Pierre I de Lusignan (1358-1369).²⁶⁰ Among the Cornaros who lived there was Andrea Cornaro, a member of Corner della Ca Grande (relatives to Corner-Piscopias), uncle of Caterina Cornaro. Together with his brother Marco Cornaro, Caterina's father, they profited greatly from their business interests in the island.²⁶¹ It is

²⁵⁶ Amable de Fournoux, *Caterina Reine de Chypre "L'otage de Venice"* (Paris, 2005), p.14.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 15; D. Casimiro Freschot, *La Nobiltà Veneta O' sia: Tutte le Famiglie Patrizie con le figure de suoi Scuoli & Arme* (Venice, 1706), p.103; Francesco Dorigo, *La Regina di Cipro* (Venice, 1982), p.6; Joachim G. Joachim, "Caterina Cornaro and the Throne of Cyprus" in David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989), 35-37.

²⁵⁸ Bruno Rosada, *Donne veneziane. Amori e valori. Da Caterina Cornaro a Peggy Guggenheim* (Rilegato, 2005), p.33.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 36.

²⁶⁰ Αικατερίνη Χ. Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Αρχείο της Βενετίας*, Vol. I (Nicosia, 1990), p.33; Evangelia Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana (1473-1571): Istituzioni e culture nel regno della Serenissima* (Rome, 2011), p.26.

²⁶¹ Benjamin Arbel, "The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a Family Affair", *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. XXVI (1993), and reprint in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice (13th-16th Centuries)* (Aldershot, 2000), 71; Giuseppe Gullino, "Caterina Cornaro: vicende familiari, vicissitudini politiche" in Daria Perocco, ed., *Caterina Cornaro. L'illusione del regno* (Asolo, 2011), 23.

generally believed that Andrea²⁶² or Marco²⁶³ was the connection for the wedding between King Jacques II and Caterina as he had suggested to Jacques to marry Caterina. However, it is not clear if he was acting for personal profit, for family advantage, or for the wider benefit of Venice. Caterina's roots were not only significant from her father's side; her mother's family was equally, if not more, distinguished, since it was descended from the Byzantine emperor, Ioannis II Komnenos.²⁶⁴ Despite not being princess of pure royal blood, she was evidently from a wealthy and powerful family - that was the reason why, for example, all the eight children of the couple (seven girls and one boy, Giorgio) were married to members of other elites.²⁶⁵

Caterina herself was born on 25 November 1454, on Saint Catherine of Alexandria's feast day.²⁶⁶ She stayed with her parents until she was ten when she went to San Benedetto Monastery in Padua, following in the footsteps of her older sisters,²⁶⁷ for educational reasons - as an elite member of society, she was expected to learn religion, grammar and etiquette.²⁶⁸ This education, which many aristocratic families provided to their daughters, not only qualified them to acquire literacy skills, but also opened the possibility for them to represent their families in public, and occasionally even practise diplomatic activity.²⁶⁹ However, Caterina was not raised to be a queen. To continue, a good

²⁶² BNM BS, 172; Horatio F. Brown, *Venetian Studies* (London, 1887), pp.306-307; Giuseppe Campolieti, *Caterina Cornaro. Regina di Cipro, signora di Asolo* (Milan, 1987), p.15.

²⁶³ Anonymous, *Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Jacques Lusignano* (Turin, 1594), 3; Franco Angiolini, "Medici e Savoia. Contese per la precedenza e rivalità di rango in età moderna" in Paola Bianchi and Luisa C. Gentile, eds., *L'affermarsi della corte sabauda. Dinastie, poteri, élites in Piemonte e Savoia fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna* (Turin, 2006), 3v; AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 4v; Pierre Monod, *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Principe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri* (Turin, 1633), pp.12-14; Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Books 1-2 (Lyon, 1660), p.539.

²⁶⁴ BNM AC 8377, 1; Antonio Colbertaldo, "Historia di D.D. Caterina Corner Regina di Cipro del Signor Antonio Colbertaldo Asolano" in Daria Perocco, ed., *Antonio Colbertaldo. Storia di Caterina Corner, Regina di Cipro: La prima biografia* (Asolo, 2011), 73; Daria Perocco, "Introduzione" in Daria Perocco, ed., *Antonio Colbertaldo. Storia di Caterina Corner, Regina di Cipro: La prima biografia* (Padua, 2012), 22.

²⁶⁵ Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.6.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 5; Christopher Hare, *The Most Illustrious Ladies of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1904), p.188.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.188; Campolieti, *Caterina*, pp.24-25; Loredana, pseud., (Anna Loredana Zacchia Rondinini), *Caterina Cornaro, Patrizia Veneta, Regina di Cipro. Con XXIII illustrazioni* (Rome, 1938), p.13.

²⁶⁸ Evangelia Skoufari, "Caterina Cornaro e la corte cipriota" in Daria Perocco, ed., *Caterina Cornaro. L'illusione del regno* (Asolo, 2011), 57; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.37.

²⁶⁹ Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2005), p.152.

education might also enhance the prospects of favourable wedding matches.²⁷⁰ Caterina left the monastery in 1468, following the confirmation of her wedding to Jacques - in this regard, her trajectory was common to the one of elite women in Catholic Europe. She returned to Venice and soon after was engaged by proxy to Jacques.²⁷¹ Unfortunately, the wedding contract is now lost, along with details about the subsequent wedding.²⁷² We do know that, in 1472, she arrived in Cyprus. At this point, her profile as queen should be illustrated, since this, in turn, will help us understand the dynamics of her identity in exile. This encompasses the periods of her being queen consort, wife of King Jacques II de Lusignan, queen regent as a queen mother of the infant King Jacques III de Lusignan, and finally sole queen regnant after the death of her son and heir.

As in Charlotte's case, this chapter considers several aspects of Caterina's reign: Namely, it elaborates on the nature of her authority as a ruler of the island, the extent to which she enjoyed support from native Cypriots, especially in the period when she was a queen regnant, her supporters and enemies; the degree to which she was controlled by others, such as family members or Venice, and the way of counselling she provided them with, according to the surviving primary sources. Then, the exiled years will be presented to explain whether she retained that sovereign identity. To answer this question, the example of Caterina's exile needs to be placed in the typology of rulers who lost their territories as we did with Charlotte. So, it will be explained if during her life in exile she sought to return as a queen in Cyprus, if she had any kind of power or even her own income, as well as whether she had financial or military support by allies who wanted her to return as a queen in Cyprus. A further investigation will be made as to who her enemies that stopped her from making a return were, if she lost her honour and if she still enjoyed sovereign status and was associated with princely paraphernalia. Certainly, it should be noted that like Charlotte, Caterina did not stop being called "queen of Cyprus, Armenia and Jerusalem" until her death.

²⁷⁰ Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 57.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 57; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.37.

²⁷² Lorenzo Fietta, "Catterina Corner del dott. Enrico Simonsfeld", *Archivio Veneto*, 21 (1881), 42; Arbel, "Reign of Caterina", 72-73.

Who benefited from her wedding? As the groom, Jacques II, could secure his political career with Venice's support in a period of time when the Ottomans were expanding in the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, Venice could provide Jacques a formidable front against his enemies and, mainly, against Charlotte, given that from exile she did everything she could to return as a queen. It might be added that Jacques had already made two unsuccessful wedding offers to a daughter of the Despot of Morea, Thomas Palaeologos, and to a daughter of the king of Naples, Ferdinando I (r. 1458-1494).²⁷³ Secondly, the status and power of the Cornaro family benefited from having a royal member, strengthening the family's profile as a dynasty of international importance. In Cyprus, the family also benefited economically, with Caterina acting as her family's liaison with her ruling husband.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, Venice benefited from this wedding - in reality more than any other party, as it will be seen later. Its influence over Cyprus via the political, military and financial support to the queen regnant continued to expand until 1489, when it actually gained possession of the island, which lasted for almost a century. Thus, the wedding between Caterina and Jacques would be beneficial for all three parties. Certainly, Caterina's role, as a point of contact between Cyprus and Venice, resonates with the roles played by later queens: Catherine of Aragon between England and Spain, Mary Tudor, between France and England, and Catherine Jagiellon between Sweden and Poland.

Finally, before engaging with the core of the chapter, the main sources that have been used to compile this part of the thesis will be discussed. The primary sources include material from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, principally the two chronicles of Cyprus, the fifteenth century work of George Boustronios, and the other of the sixteenth century of Florio Bustron. Also, the *History of Venice* of Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) and the diaries of Marin Sanudo afford further insights into fundamental aspects of Caterina's life. The chapter also used the sources of Mas-Latrie and Aristidou, as edited collections of

²⁷³ Campolieti, *Caterina*, pp.29-30, Λητώ Σεβέρη, *Αρχόντισσες της Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου και η Αικατερίνη Κορνάρο* (Nicosia, 1995), pp.130-131; Κυριάκος Χατζηγιάννου, *Η διπλωματία και οι μηχανορραφίες στις αυλές των Φράγκων ρηγάδων της Κύπρου* (Famagusta, 1970), pp.71-72.

²⁷⁴ Arbel, "Reign of Caterina", 68-69.

primary manuscripts, mainly letters. In terms of secondary sources, in contrast to Charlotte's case, there is a considerable number of modern books and articles dedicated to Caterina as queen of Cyprus and then Lady of Asolo.

Caterina Cornaro as the queen of Cyprus

To begin with, some biographical details of Caterina's life in Cyprus shall be discussed to contextualise key aspects of her period as resident queen in Cyprus, firstly, as a wife of Jacques II (1472-1473), then, as a queen mother of Jacques III (1473-1474), and, finally, as a sole ruler (1474-1489). As with Charlotte, the main aim is to present her profile, personality and her dynamics in her unexpected sole reign after the sudden death of her husband. This is essential because the biographical details provide the necessary backdrop to analyse the qualities of her queenship. Also, more reasons will be listed as to why she lost the throne; by way of example, the degree of power she had over the country, how much she was respected and approved as a female queen, what kind of counsel she provided to her motherland, how dependent she was on her family and Venice, and how she addressed the difficulties in ruling a country as a queen regnant, who her enemies were, as well as her capacity to oppose them. Additionally, this chapter considers the aims and interests of her advisers, and if they were acting for the benefit of their queen or not.

Although Caterina arrived in Cyprus in 1472, the background of the years 1468-1472 shall be mentioned briefly to identify who benefited from her marriage. As regards to the Cornaro family, the marriage brought undoubted social benefits, in terms of prestige and honour in having a queen amongst its members. The family possibly had political and economic interests at the state, too. Andrea²⁷⁵ or Marco Cornaro,²⁷⁶ Caterina's uncle and father respectively, went with Jacques II on a mission to Egypt to visit Sultan Enal (r. 1453-1461), as his main supporter, suggesting that he had his own reasons to prefer

²⁷⁵ BNM BS, 172; Brown, *Venetian Studies*, 306-307; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.15.

²⁷⁶ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 4v; Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, 3v; Monod, *Trattato*, pp.12-14; Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.539.

Jacques for the throne of Cyprus. As previously mentioned, the extended Cornaro family had various interests on the island. It had been undertaking commerce in Cyprus for centuries and had fiefs among the island, principally, in the area of Episcopi, where the family mainly engaged in sugar cultivation.²⁷⁷ Accordingly, the wedding between Jacques II and Caterina Cornaro had the potential to be very beneficial economically for the Cornaro family on the island. It might be added, though, there is no significant documentary evidence to suggest that Caterina herself had wanted this wedding to happen. It is entirely possible that the union was arranged by her family, grounded on diplomatic, economic and political reasons: it can be said that Caterina seems to have been a pawn in a larger power game. Her voice was silenced, something that would continue in the future.

With respect to those who might benefit, Jacques II too had reasons to marry Caterina Cornaro, for, although she did not have royal blood, with the help of the Cornaro family and Venice, he could secure his position as a *de facto* king of the island after he had removed the *de jure* queen Charlotte. According to a July 1469 document of the Venetian Senate (Consiglio dei Pregadi), the doge underlined to his envoy, Domenico Gradenico that, on arriving in Cyprus, he would read a letter of him to Jacques clarifying to the Cypriot king that by marrying Caterina he was entering a union not only with her and her family, but with Venice as well. If he wanted Venetian protection, he should keep his promise to finally marry Caterina.²⁷⁸ He also reminded him that his position was still uncertain as the deposed queen, Charlotte, was trying to return as a queen in Cyprus. Venetian protection could thus ensure his retention of the throne of the island. As the doge wrote:

Furthermore, desiring to do everything for the aforementioned serene king and queen, we are contented for your restitution, and if it is requested by your highness [...] will give a good composition (agreement) and harmony (concord) between your majesty and the serene lady Charlotte, the old queen, your sister, and achieved by every effort and ingenuity of yours, in order, if it is possible, to follow the above composition (agreement) and

²⁷⁷ Rosada, *Donne veneziane*, pp.33-36.

²⁷⁸ Louis De Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, Vol. III (Paris, 1861), pp.312-313.

harmony (concord). And if this is done, for the maximum stability of the case, it is necessary to interpose our authority.²⁷⁹

As it is suggested, Jacques needed protection to be sure he would remain in the throne of Cyprus, and Venice could give it to him. This necessitated his engagement by proxy to Caterina on 31 July 1468,²⁸⁰ in Venice, after he sent his representative Philip Mistachiel²⁸¹ (and the details about the engagement would be presented soon after).

While Jacques and Caterina were engaged in 1468, Caterina only arrived at the island in autumn 1472.²⁸² During this period, Venice maintained the promise of support. Two surviving archival materials demonstrate that Jacques would gain significant security, military support, honour and assistance. The first of these two archival sources is a letter written in October 1469 by Domenico Gradenico, the Venetian ambassador in Nicosia, for Jacques. According to this letter, Venice assured him that he was king of Cyprus that, from that time, the republic would officially and effectively support him:

With a long and mutual friendship, which is always between the most serene kings of Cyprus and the aforementioned illustrious republic of Venice. Recently, a wedding contract was made between the already mentioned most serene and royal majesty [King Jacques II] and the most illustrious and most excellent lady Caterina, daughter of the magnificent and glorious Hipparchus Marco Cornaro, the primary patrician of Venice, [Caterina] the most serene queen was solemnly and affectionately supported and received back [in Venice] by the most illustrious and most excellent prince and supreme leader [the Doge]. Indeed, he promised and guaranteed to his adopted daughter [...], they were able to be honoured and useful, for the security and dignity of the already mentioned glorious

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p.315: "Ulterius, cupientes facere omnem rem gratam serenissimo domino regi prefato et regine, contenti sumus ut in reditu tuo, si requisitus fueris a regua celsitudine sua, [...] causa ponendi aliquam bonam compositionem et concordiam inter majestatem suam et serenissimam dominam Karlotam, olim reginam, sororem suam, qua in re elaborabis omni studio et ingenio tuo, ut, si fieri possit, sequatur dicta composition et concordium; et, si opus fuerit pro majore firmitudine rei, placebit ut interponas auctoritatem nostram".

²⁸⁰ Holly S. Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice: Caterina Corner, Queen of Cyprus and Woman of the Renaissance* (London, 2015), p.35.

²⁸¹ Joachim, "Caterina", 78.

²⁸² Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 62.

and most serene king, and also his descendants and heirs, and not the opposite in any other case.²⁸³

In respect of the above information, it can be deduced that Venice was striving to prevent Jacques from reneging on his promise to marry Caterina. At the same time, Venice (which was at war with the Ottomans between 1463 and 1469, and in need of regional allies) also gained support from Jacques. According to Boustronios, in 1469 Jacques agreed to arm two galleys for Venice's benefit for around two or three months each year. Also, Jacques denied harbour facilities to Venice's enemies, including Milan and Florence, while also refusing to provide aid to the pope and Naples as they were supporters of Charlotte.²⁸⁴ In parallel, Jacques and Venice sought to ally with Uzun Hasan (the Turcoman leader) and Kasin Bay (the Karamanid leader) both enemies of the Ottomans.²⁸⁵ Thus, it seems that Jacques and Caterina's wedding benefitted both Venice and the king of Cyprus politically and militarily.

When Jacques did not obtain major benefits from aligning with Venice, again according to Boustronios, he wanted to be independent and gain closer relations with Naples.²⁸⁶ That is why, in 1469, Sicilian and Catalan supporters suggested he try to achieve a wedding alliance with Naples instead of Venice.²⁸⁷ However, Venice, given its regional, political and geostrategic interests and its ongoing rivalry with King Ferdinando of Naples (who also had interests in the region), would not give up easily. In May 1469, Venice was deeply concerned when it was informed that King Ferdinando was planning to "[e]xpand his Mediterranean interests" and offered Jacques the hand of one of his daughters in marriage.²⁸⁸ Venice also had ongoing tensions with the

²⁸³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.316-320: "Cum vetusta et mutual amicitia que semper inter ipsos serenissimos reges Cyprios et prefatum illustrissimum dominium Venetorum viguit, tam affinitate nuper contracta inter prefatam serenissimam regiam majestatem et illustrissimam ac excellentissimam dominam Catherinam, filiam magnifici et gloriosi equities domini Marci Cornarii, patricii primarii Veneti, quamquidem serenissimam dominam reginam ipse illustrissimus et excellentissimus princeps et dominium Venetiarum solenniter et affectuose suscepit et recepit, immo tenet et habet, tenereque et habere profitetur et pollicetur in propriam suam filiam adoptivam, [...] possunt ad honores et comoda, securitatem et dignitatem atque decus prefati serenissimi domini Regis et suorum descendentium et heredum, et non aliter, nec alio quidem modo".

²⁸⁴ George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456-1489*. Edited by Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides. Translated by Nicholas Coureas and Hans A. Pohlsander (Nicosia, 2005), p.58.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p.58.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.58-59.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p.59.

²⁸⁸ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.36.

Ottomans; war had erupted in 1463 between Venice and the Ottoman Empire (1463-1479).²⁸⁹

Jacques' being contingency to a wedding alliance with Naples, was something that Venice would not permit that easily. According to the second archival document from Venice, a decision of the Venetian Senate, dated in October 1471, Venice underlined to the Cypriot ambassador that Venice and Cyprus had an agreement of mutual support and that was not going to change: "[A]nd if it is notified that this kind of nomination is abandoned, it does not matter, because the terms of the contract protect both the sides [of Venice and Cyprus] and they must have mutual support"²⁹⁰ and also Venice planned to send him two new galleys with equipment and men, so he could defend better his kingdom. "[B]ut nevertheless, supporting the royal spirit and having the best plan, we are content to give him for the first time two new galleys with their ships, their sails, their irons, their hoeing and the necessary rowers, which your majesty can arm with the rest and keep for common benefit and defence".²⁹¹ Once again, given the wider insecurity of the region, the benefits that Jacques was to get from this wedding were acutely significant for the security of his kingdom. At the same time Venice could benefit by having Jacques as an ally in East Mediterranean, a crucial region as an Ottoman-Venetian war was in progress.

The importance of the marriage of Jacques and Caterina to the republic was certainly underlined by the magnificence of the event. The wedding by proxy took place inside the doge's palace, Sala del Gran Consiglio, after he had given the order that she should be taken from her father's palace to the Sala del Maggior Consiglio by the Bucentaur, the doge's state barge.²⁹² In the ducal palace, Doge Cristoforo Moro (r. 1462-1471) gave the ring to the ambassador

²⁸⁹ Arbel, "Reign of Caterina", 67-70.

²⁹⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.322: "Et si notificare hujus modi nominationem omisimus, non multum referi, quoniam per formam capituli federis predicti omnes utrinque nominate protegi et defendi ab utroque debent, etiam si in tempore nonfuissent admoniti sive ipsi non approbaverint".

²⁹¹ Ibid., p.323: "Sed nichilominus, ut regium animum et optimum ipsius propositum adjuvemus, contenti sumus dare ei ad primum tempus duo corpora galearum novarum cum suis arboribus, vellis, ferris, sartiis et remigio necessario, quas majestas sua armari ultra reliquas suas faciat et teneri in commune beneficium et propugnationem".

²⁹² Joachim, "Caterina", 77-79.

to place it on Caterina's finger.²⁹³ Unfortunately, the wedding contract is lost, though the fact that the doge, and not Marco, gave the ring to Caterina suggests that Venice had a symbolic paternal role, more so than her actual father. The republic indeed officially "adopted" Caterina; from that time, she was not just the daughter of Marco Cornaro, but the Daughter of Venice.²⁹⁴ This was, on one level, a symbolic gesture, but also a powerful one as no one else before had received the title; and only one other female would subsequently receive the same honour, Bianca Cappello (1548-1587) in 1579, who married the grand-duke of Tuscany, Francesco de' Medici (1541-1587).²⁹⁵ The adoption of Caterina was also a clever strategic decision by a republic with an elected doge since it strengthened Venice's influence in the realm of international marital politics. Venice, claiming protection and paternal responsibility, could involve itself in the matters of Cyprus for its own interests.

Before Caterina's departure for Cyprus, formal celebrations took place in Venice, with Caterina again having the honour of entering the state Bucentaur.²⁹⁶ On 10 November 1472, the doge himself accompanied Caterina from her father's house to the departure place, at the Lido.²⁹⁷ According to a 1472 document from the Senate, Andrea Bragadino, the head of Caterina Cornaro's suite from Venice to Cyprus, who had the role of formally representing Venice in Cyprus for the protection of Venetian interests in the south-eastern Mediterranean against the Ottomans,²⁹⁸ had discussions with Jacques about the Venetian-Ottoman conflict, as soon as he went to Cyprus. He claimed that because of this war, all Christian states, including Cyprus, should be unified.²⁹⁹ This underlines a great reason as to why Venice wanted this wedding to take place; to form an alliance against a mutual and powerful enemy. It is also understandable that the Cornaro family, Jacques and Venice benefited greatly from this wedding. However, Caterina's preference is not

²⁹³ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.35.

²⁹⁴ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. III: The Frankish Period, 1432-1571* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.639-641.

²⁹⁵ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.40.

²⁹⁶ AMA AP, 197.

²⁹⁷ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.639-641.

²⁹⁸ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.330.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.332-334.

given, a detail that suggests that her own will was not in itself considered important.

Caterina finally arrived in Cyprus in autumn 1472.³⁰⁰ As Boustronios wrote: “after Jacques sent Philip Mistachiel to Venice to bring about the marriage with the [present] queen, Catherine. He brought her, moreover, in the year of Christ 1472 and he married her in Famagusta. Besides, great celebrations were organised”.³⁰¹ Caterina was then officially queen consort of Cyprus. But, within a year (on the night between 6 and 7 July 1473) Jacques II died, while Caterina was expecting their first child.³⁰² Just before his death, Jacques included his wife and his unborn child in his will (Appendix 2).³⁰³ So, for the time being, according to Jacques II’s will, Caterina had every right to remain, at the very least, as a regent queen in Cyprus.

As a king, Jacques II sought to rule appropriately and did not always follow Venice’s interests, despite his marriage to the Venetian Caterina. For example, in 1473, before Jacques II’s death, Giosafat Barbaro, a Venetian diplomat had private preparatory conversations about a new Christian league with envoys from Rome, Naples, Venice and Andrea Cornaro, Caterina’s uncle. Barbaro had already visited the knights of Rhodes and was in contact with Uzun Hasan.³⁰⁴ Theodora, as Uzun Hasan’s wife, was a counsellor to her husband and the guarantor to European states that the league could be cross-confessional. The allies wanted to use the port of Famagusta during their league. Jacques, being mindful of Cyprus’s limitations as a military actor, was not certain about his participation in this league, not least as he did not want to alienate the overlord of the island after Uzun Hasan attacked Mamluk territories. Besides, he was afraid of Ottoman and Mamluk attacks in Cyprus.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ Skoufari, “Caterina e la corte”, 62.

³⁰¹ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.118.

³⁰² Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.651; Arbel, “Reign of Caterina”, 67; Perocco, “Introduzione”, 24.

³⁰³ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.119.

³⁰⁴ Alexander Beihammer “The Kingdom of Cyprus in the First Ottoman-Venetian War (1463-1479): Aspects of its Military and Political Significance” in Sabine Rogge and Michael Grünbart, eds., *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter* (Münster, 2015), p.80.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.83-86.

Jacques II's death and the birth of a son, accordingly triggered a key change in Caterina's identity, from a queen consort to a queen regent and then queen regnant. Focusing on her dynamics as queen mother, with the help of her advisors, she took steps to ensure the security of her position. As she was a sole adult ruler, even as a queen mother, this part of the chapter examines her approaches to governing alone, in the name of her unborn son, and also how she was helped by her family and how she was supported, or possibly more correctly controlled, by Venice. To be sure, one might understand the challenges she faced, being queen consort in Cyprus only for a year, at a very young age and without any form of princely education and experience. Furthermore, she was living in a fundamentally patriarchal kingdom (where Charlotte failed to rule only some years earlier), in a period of time when Cyprus faced an existential threat from the Ottomans, Caterina faced evident challenges as a sole queen. It is equally understandable that she depended on the support (advisory, political, financial and military aid) offered by Venice and her family.

At the beginning of Caterina's reign, the environment in Cyprus was stable for the young queen mother. According to a July 1473 letter sent to the republic to communicate news of Jacques II's death, Cypriot barons, knights and courtiers declared loyalty to her.³⁰⁶ At that moment, her position as a queen mother on the island was secured. Ambassadors were likewise sent urgently to Egypt to inform the sultan, the overlord of the island, of Jacques II's sudden death - the transition had to be legal, not least as already seen, Charlotte forfeited her kingdom after the sultan of Egypt had supported Jacques. Caterina's envoy to Egypt was successful and as Bustron wrote: "[t]he sultan warmly welcomed the ambassador of the queen, and sent her a bundle of gold with great presents".³⁰⁷ Caterina benefitted from having Venice by her side and it was a diplomatic victory for her against Charlotte, who had also sent an envoy to Egypt. Caterina and her advisors were seemingly organised enough to secure her position as queen mother regent in Cyprus.

³⁰⁶ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.343-345.

³⁰⁷ Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre. Edited by René de Mas-Latrie* (Milton Keynes, 2011), p.434: "Il soldan vide con bona ciera l'ambassiator della regina, e li mandò un drappo d'oro con offerte grande".

At the same time, the pregnant Caterina was protected by Venice, who continued to express its paternal love for her. When the exiled Charlotte sent the letter to the General Captain of Venice, Pietro Mocenigo, discussed in Chapter 1,³⁰⁸ Venice, via the General Captain, stood by Caterina. He replied to Charlotte that the rightful queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Saint Mark was alive and was expecting Jacques's child. As she was the child of Saint Mark, the republic would defend her if circumstances required it.³⁰⁹ Nor was this display of paternal support by Venice limited to diplomacy alone; it also sent material support to the island. On 24 August 1473, the Venetian senate wrote to Pietro Mocenigo asking him to urgently go to Cyprus with the Venetian fleet for a crucial mission; to secure the safety of the queen and the island in general:

Encourage her for edification of her soul, in order for her to maintain the kingdom and her position on it. And when it is firm in her mind to you that the protection and the strengthening of her authority [are achieved] as well as those of her descendants and those of her heir, if he is already being born. With support and encouragement, look after and protect the goodwill of the queen, the town and the commander of Famagusta and the castle of Cerines, Limassol, Paphos etc, where there are fortified positions in the island, faithful subordinates and men.³¹⁰

Venice was evidently supporting its adopted daughter, for her to remain on the throne of Cyprus. Also, indirectly it is perceived that the security of the island and the continuation of Caterina on the throne as queen mother depended on Venice's support.

Under these difficult circumstances, Caterina successfully gave birth to her son, Jacques III, in August 1473.³¹¹ To what extent did Caterina exercise power? Boustronios wrote that after the birth of Jacques III the island was in peace. More specifically,

³⁰⁸ Coriolano Cippico, *Delle Guerre de'Veneziani nell'Asia dal MCCCCCLXX al MCCCCCLXXIII: Libri Tre* (Venice, 1796), pp.XXXVIII-LI.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.LI.

³¹⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.348-350: "Hortemini ut, erecto animo, sit ad conservationem regni et status sui; et cum ea vos intelligatis super tutamento et firmamento status illius ad subjection, nem suam et nascituri, sive forte jam nati, heredis ejus; fulcirique suadete, procurate et efficite cum bona regine Voluntate civitatem et arcem Famaguste et castellan Cerines, Limisso et Baffi et cetera, si qua sunt, munita in insula loca fidelissimis stipendiariis et hominibus".

³¹¹ Campolieti, *Caterina*, 107; Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 57.

On 30 October [1473] the queen despatched three letters sealed with [the emblem of] St Mark, sent by the government of Venice, to Nicosia, and they were read out in [the cathedral of] the Holy Wisdom. And they state: 'We learnt of the king's death and were greatly saddened. Secondly, we have learnt that the whole island is at peace and that all the lords desire you to be the queen, and we have derived great pleasure from this. Take care as far as possible to be mindful of your life and that of your child, and do not concern yourself over the other matters! For we too wish to offer you assistance in whatsoever matters you require it. We have, moreover, written to the commander of the fleet, [instructing him] to send you five galleys to be at your service. Furthermore, notify us should you have any additional requirement.'³¹²

But Venice did not just offer support; it also monitored Caterina's movements. The republic wanted to have an eye on every essential thing in the kingdom as it wanted more than just the security of the island and Caterina maintaining her throne. A letter sent from Famagusta on 15 November 1473, from the orator Josaphat Barbaro to the Venetian authorities, mentions that an ambassador from Naples had visited Caterina and he told her that the king of Naples was proposing that Charlotte, Jacques II's illegitimate daughter, might marry an illegitimate son of his. Caterina, according to the letter, did not respond to the ambassador, but told him that she would reply very soon.³¹³ This letter demonstrates two things. First that Ferdinando was definitively determined to establish a connection with Cyprus. Secondly, that Venice was informed about Caterina's movements. She was surrounded by certain people in order to be controlled, not just protected, by Venice. In the future, this surveillance in the future would inhibit her from governing the island with freedom

Meanwhile, the Venetian presence and power in the island was steadily increased, under the pretext of the need to protect Caterina. It might be added that in November 1473 the security of Caterina and her son was not certain. A Catalan rebellion broke out in Cyprus because the Catalans and Sicilians there wanted to exclude the Venetians from ruling the island. As Bustron explains,

The island of Cyprus at that time was in great turmoil especially since the foreigners, Catalans, Spanish and others had different opinions. Some of

³¹² Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.130.

³¹³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.361-362.

them wanted to support King Ferdinando [of Naples who offered to Jacques II before his death his illegitimate son to marry his illegitimate daughter], others were on Charlotte's side, but the majority of them, together with the locals desired [to be with] the Venetian lords, by whom they expected to be defended from all injury, because of the love they [the Venetians] had for Queen Caterina, their compatriot, and adopted daughter. And for this division, Queen Caterina did not know whom to trust.³¹⁴

Because of the above situation, Mocenigo received more letters (written on 2 and 7 November 1473) relating to Cyprus and Caterina from the republic, in which he was informed that the five Venetian boats anchored in Famagusta should remain there. Also, three more Venetian boats equipped for war should go to Famagusta soon and, if necessary, Caterina Cornaro should fight using the Venetian navy, infantry and cavalry.³¹⁵ In this rebellion, on 13 November 1473, two relatives of Caterina and close people to her, her uncle Andrea Cornaro mentioned above and Marco Bembo, lost their lives in Famagusta.³¹⁶ The rebellion was organised by the Catalans and Sicilians, who had participated in governing the island but who were now protesting about Venice's increasing power. Ferdinando of Naples supported the rebellion and in his efforts to strengthen his power, in 1476, suggested that Carla, daughter of Jacques II, marry his son. Caterina was evidently in a difficult position, declaring that the Catalans, Neapolitans and Sicilians should leave the island and forfeit their properties. This was the crucial time that Venice sent two counsellors (consiglieri) and one provveditore, the first two to help Caterina ruling and the third to control the island's military forces.³¹⁷

However, Caterina's power was restored, though only because as the Venetian military commander Coriolano in Cyprus wrote, of Venetian power.³¹⁸ In another letter sent on 21 December 1473, Venice informed the General Captain of its decision to spend all the necessary money to ensure Caterina's

³¹⁴ Buston, *Chronique*, p.437.: "All' hora l' isola di Cipro si trovò in gran combustione, e massime che li forastieri, Catalani, Spagnoli, et altri, havevano diverse oppinioni. Parte di loro Volevano raccomandarsi al re Ferdinando, altri pendevano dalla parte di Carlotta, ma la maggior parte di essi, insieme con li paesani, desideravano con li signori venetiani, da quali speravano essere deffesi da ogni ingiuria per amor della regina Catherina, loro compatriota, e figliuola adottiva. E per questa diversità, non sapeva in chi fidarsi la regina Catherina".

³¹⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.351-352.

³¹⁶ Παυλίδης, *Ιστορία Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 1992), p.296.

³¹⁷ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp.49-50.

³¹⁸ Cippico, *Delle Guerre*, LXIX.

security. To achieve this, they aimed to dispatch 2000 cavalry.³¹⁹ Moreover, in a letter sent on 20 December 1473 by Venice to the General Captain, they informed him that the immediate priority was to ensure that Cyprus was safe and Caterina and her four-month-baby would remain on the throne. In the letter, Coriolano is presented as having the requisite prudence, skills and military wisdom (male characteristics according to Aristotle) to deal with the situation, indirectly suggesting Caterina's shortcomings as a woman. The letter added that no other power should be allowed to come to the island and take control of it:

We cannot guess in what states the things would be, given the present situation nor what should be done or can be done by you; but in general, we can declare you and we refer to you the ethos, skills, prudence, cunning and the wise of power in the effect of the above mentioned queen, in the governance of her and her son, in the hope and security of his inheritance and in his succession, if he lives. If something [bad] already happened to one or the other, that is forbidden by the God, or occurred, the kingdom should not pass in any other power, and if this happens, it should be recaptured and brought back to our protection and freedom'.³²⁰ [...] it is a great sorrow for us to be informed of the death of the noble Andrea Cornaro & the other events in the kingdom of Cyprus, we express our annoyance, and we although we believe in your wisdom and capabilities, it is already known our main will and our intention that this island will not fall into the hands and power of others. You should make all possible provision and you should not expect new instructions from us, knowing that you have already being given lots and sufficient, but with all our galleys, you should contribute in the said island, and with the recruitments and our advice, you should listen to our command and you should not omit anything that is important and via you it is potential the conservation of the most serene queen and of her son, heirs and successors, very rightfully, paternal disposition, and our own will for the already mentioned kingdom.³²¹

³¹⁹ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.352-353.

³²⁰ Ibid., p.363: "Non possumus divinare quo in statu res fuerint ad presentium receptionem, nec quod fieri opus sit aut posit a vobis; sed in genere universe vobis declaramus et Volumus ut ingenio, arte, prudential, astucia et viribus utimini ad effectum supradictum conservationis regine in gubernationem et filii in spem et certitudinem hereditatis et successionis, si vixerit. Et si quid de eis sive altero eorum aut jam accidisset, quod Deus avertat, aut accideret, regnum tamen illud in alienam devenire potestatem non posit, et si jam pervenisset, recuperetur, et reducat in nostrum protectionem et libertatem".

³²¹ Ibid., p.363: "Necem viri nobilis Andree Cornarii et ceteras novitates regni Cypri molestissime intelleximus, et quamvis credamus quod per vestram prudentiam et solertiam, cognita presertim jam pridem Voluntate et intentione nostra ut insula illa in alienas manus et potentiam non deveniat, feceritis omnes possibiles provisiones, et non expectaveritis nova mandata nostra, ut quibus plura et sufficientia antehac data sunt, sed cum omnibus trirēmibus nostris vos contuleris ad insulam predictam, vobis tamen istas scribendas duximus, et cum nostro consilio rogatorum imperandum, ut nihil obmittatis quod necessarium sit et per vos fieri posit pro conservatione serenissime regine et filii sui, heredis et successoris, jure ipso, institutione paterna, et nostra etiam Voluntate, regni predicti".

The letter added that if another state had already captured Cyprus, then the General Captain should recapture it as the affairs of Cyprus are affairs of Venice as well.³²² “[Y]ou are in charge for the affairs of Cyprus, which are ours too, and all the other things by us considered important, so there is no harm, but all is secured”.³²³ Finally, Venice wanted control of Cyprus with or without Caterina at the island’s helm. “[D]o not doubt, that this is our intention and desire for you to expertly face the affairs by resolving and deescalating tensions inside the kingdom [of Cyprus] by will or by violence. Also, observe the castle of Famagusta, [the castle of] Cerines and all the other fortified castles in the name of our people and in the name of our republic”.³²⁴ What is striking about all the letters is that Caterina was absolutely absent from Venice’s decisions as Cyprus was transformed steadily into a Venetian colony.

Nonetheless, it seems that as a regent queen in Cyprus, Caterina gravitated more closely to her extended family, even after the death of her uncle. In a letter of the provveditore to the doge, written in December 1473, Caterina is presented not only receiving counsel from her relatives, but also letting one of them rule in her name: “[G]iorgio Contarini, her nephew, in reality he is the Most Serene Prince (Serenissimo Principe), because although he is young, he handles all the deputies, being also in a great regard; and because he speaks more than anyone else, also he has the power to engage with every person”.³²⁵ Quite why Caterina (whose voice again is absent) gave those powers to her nephew, although he was young as well, was possibly down to gender. Contarini was ruling in the name Caterina, though in the absence of primary sources, we cannot know if Contarini was following the queen’s instructions or was acting by his own will.

³²² Ibid., p.363.

³²³ Ibid., p.363: “Curate ut respublica in negotiis Cypri, que nostra propria sunt, et ceterarum omnium importantissima a nobis existimata, nullum recipiat detrimentum, sed secuta omnia reddant”.

³²⁴ Ibid., p.364: “Ne de aliqua re possitis aliquo modo dubitare, est nostre intentionis et Volumus ut, occurrente quod negotia illius regni reformatis et pacetis, sive per Voluntatem, sive per vim, quanto potestis solertius, arcem Famaguste, Cerines et reliquis omnes muniatis castellanis et hominibus nostris, nomine dominii nostri”.

³²⁵ Ibid., p.439: “Zorzi Contarini, suo nevodo, che in verità, Serenissimo Principe, benché el Sia zovene de lui per tuti questi deputadi è fata bona stima et però è sta lui più de l altri tenuto sì el parlare suo con niun altro como etiam de podere far cegno et demonstratione con persona alguna”.

1474 was to be proven a difficult year for Venice. In November, Venice, Milan, Florence and Ferrara engaged in a league against Rome and Naples, which itself resulted in greater interference in the peninsula by Spain and France.³²⁶ In April 1475, Caterina informed the doge about Cyprus's confederation with Venice's Italian League allies, Milan and Florence.³²⁷

With this letter, I want to inform the most illustrious and most excellent ducal Venetian Republic, which had adopted me and gave me protection. Recently, a new alliance was made with the Serene duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza and the excellent commune of Florence, and us, for the support and alliance that provides to us this named confederation and nominated declaration.³²⁸

The letter suggests that Venetian foreign policy influenced Cyprus's diplomatic relations as well. Venice was confronted with Ottoman expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, and between 1474, and 1479, the Ottomans captured various Venetian colonies. In 1474 Venice lost Croia,³²⁹ in 1477, Istria and Friuli,³³⁰ in 1478 Tana (Azak, Rostov), a possession in the Black Sea,³³¹ as well as Drivasto (Drisht) and Alessio (Lezhë) in Albania³³² and in 1479 Brazzo di Maina in Epirus,³³³ the islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Thassos³³⁴ and Scutari (Scodra).³³⁵ In 1475, Ottomans also acquired all the overseas domains of Genoa in the Black Sea, including Caffa.³³⁶

In these difficult times, Venice did not just influence Cyprus's diplomatic relations with other western powers. It seems that it also maintained the island's

³²⁶ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. II. The Fifteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1978), p.325.

³²⁷ Louis De Mas-Latrie, *Documents Nouveaux Servant De preuves A L'Histoire De L'île De Chypre: Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan* (Paris, 1882), p.453.

³²⁸ Ibid., p.453: "Quibuscunque has nostras litteras perlegentibus notum esse volumus quod, quum illustrissimum et excellentissimum ducale Venetiarym dominium, sub cujus adoptione et protectione sumus, novam nuper confederationem cum serenissimo Mediolani duce, Galeatio Maria Fortia, et excelsa communitate Florentie fecerit, ac nos, pro adherentia et colligantia quam nobiscum habet, in eadem confederatione nominasset, nominatamque declarasset, volumus in ea esse sicut nominata sumus, atque eam nominationem".

³²⁹ Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period" in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 133.

³³⁰ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.327.

³³¹ Arbel, "Maritime Empire", 136.

³³² Ibid., 133.

³³³ Ibid., 135.

³³⁴ Ibid., 136.

³³⁵ Ibid., 133.

³³⁶ Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region: Evolution and Transformation* (Abingdon, 2018), pp.1-5.

security from external forces protecting Caterina and her kingdom. In January 1474, the properties of rebels were confiscated and Catalans, Sicilians and Neapolitans living on the island were banished.³³⁷ In a January 1474 letter, the senate thanked the General Captain for protecting Caterina in such a dangerous period for herself and her child. He was also ordered to confiscate every foreign galley arriving at the island to prevent any foreigners, or indeed communications, arriving there.³³⁸

As it is known to everyone, the serene lord King Ferdinando [of Naples], responded to our orator and he wrote to him [that] he is strongly justified to his operations and honoured and he concluded saying to all of us that everything would happen with us for the conservation of the queen and her son. We do not know what the royal excellence will do, but if it happens to arrive in Cyprus any of his triremes, one or more, or any boat, or perhaps any emissary, a rumour that we doubt, you should keep them all maintained and you should not allow to anyone to approach the island, neither the opposite, from one place to go to the other.³³⁹

Under these circumstances the republic secured Caterina's hold on the throne demonstrating that whoever wanted to interfere in the Cyprus matters, he or she, would have to face Venice as a supporter of Caterina.

Venice's paternalistic support in Cyprus was steadily replaced by control. As Boustunios wrote, on 3 February 1474 "[P]eter Mocenigo, the captain of the fleet, came to Famagusta, with twelve galleys and four galleasses, and there were twelve horses on each galley".³⁴⁰ In March 1474, the Venetian Senate decided to send a provveditore (military governor) and two counsellors to Cyprus out of concern for the island's security.³⁴¹ In a March 1474 letter of the Senate to Mocenigo, he and the provveditore were advised to place in the fortress of Famagusta and Cerines Venetian soldiers to allay more political

³³⁷ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.49; Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, p.26.

³³⁸ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.365-366.

³³⁹ Ibid., p.366: "Ut omnia vobis nota sint, serenissimus dominus rex Ferdinandus et oratori nostro respondit et suo scripsit, magnopere se justificans et honestans, et tandem concludit se omnia nobiscum unitis viribus esse facturum pro conservacione regine et filii. Nescimus quod regia sublimitas actura sit, sed si accideret ut aliqua trimeris sua, una aut plures, aut aliquod lignum, vel nuntius quispiam forte in Cyprum veniret, sicut per quamdam famam dubitamus, vos omnes retinete; et ne patiamini ut aliquis, quisquis sit, accedat ad illam insulam, neque e diverso ex e ad aliquam partem quispiam se conferrat".

³⁴⁰ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.151.

³⁴¹ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.370-371..

disorders.³⁴² Also, according to Boustronios, “[O]n May [14]74 ships arrived from Venice along with a captain as well as top secret letters and 200 men, who had come to stay in Cyprus”.³⁴³ Caterina’s absence as a political actor continued, while Venice increased its presence and power on the island. This indirectly demonstrates Caterina’s weaknesses as a ruler, in characteristics that, as mentioned, were customarily associated with prudent male rulers. However, a surviving letter of the queen written in April 1475 (after the death of her son) expresses her complaints to Venice about her situation more than a year after the republic’s decision to send a provveditore and two counsellors to the island. Before analysing this letter, some context from 1474 and early 1475 is necessary.

In a letter dated 5 June 1474, the doge gave various instructions to Francisco Minio and Alvisio Gabriel as councillors to Cyprus.³⁴⁴ The Venetian authorities wrote that “[t]here are many things that need your consultation, procuring and command. But two of them are principal: that is peace and quiet in the entire island, with faith, love and reverence for the queen and her son”.³⁴⁵ To achieve that, Venice would use its military power for the defence and the preservation of the authorities.³⁴⁶ Again, this is clear evidence that Caterina was marginalised in crucial decision-making. Venice also exerted its influence also through its administrators on the island. The two councillors would be responsible for the matters of justice in both public and private issues as Venice wanted to minimise disturbances in Cyprus. They were, at least, instructed to consult the queen.³⁴⁷ Yet, the same letter also states that the two councillors would also manage the state finance allocation, albeit again with the queen’s consultation.³⁴⁸ Evidently, Venice was exerting control on the island under the name of paternal love, while the queen seemed incapable of exercising independent authority. “[T]he castellans and all those who were inside,

³⁴² Ibid., pp.371-372..

³⁴³ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.171.

³⁴⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.372-382.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p.373: “Multa sunt que consulenda, procuranda, agenda a vobis erunt, sed duo precipua: pacificus scilicet et quietus Vivendi in insula illa modus cum fide, amore et reverential omnium erga reginam et filium”.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.372-373.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.373-374.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p.375.

subordinated and faithful to us, should not recognise anyone else but our possession, and to obey only to our representatives. We were called under the name of the queen and the royal infant”.³⁴⁹ Apart from the castles, the two councillors would be responsible for the whole kingdom and administrative staff.³⁵⁰ No enemy should be a member of the public administration, no enemy should be allowed to come to Cyprus, and no enemy who was already in Cyprus should remain.³⁵¹ The word “enemy” was not only intended to mean non-Venetians. There were cases where Venetian citizens were seen as enemies too. For example, at the end of the letter, the doge ordered the two councillors to remove two nephews of Caterina from her court, Giorgio Contarini (the nephew of the queen who was acting as “Serenissimo Principe”) and Pietro Bembo, on the basis that they had supposedly caused disagreement, competition and conflicts. The first was to be removed entirely from the island (although, as explained above, he mainly ruled in Caterina’s name), while the other was to be allowed to stay on the condition that he would refrain from causing any more difficulties. The same would happen to any other Venetian noble or citizen surrounding the queen and causing trouble to the republic.³⁵²

It is in our intention that, in addition to all the foreigners who were expelled from the island by our General Captain and our provveditori, whoever may be suspected should also be removed quickly. And purge in any potential way the whole kingdom any suspect that is either with the lady Charlotte or with the leaders of the conspirators. Some of them may have commerce or interests in the island. But, in any way and any mode cut them out and eject them.³⁵³

Caterina evidently did not have substantial power to rule her own kingdom independently, or even to follow the republic’s wishes, such as by removing people from her close retinue. Moreover, in June 1474, the two counsellors, Francisco Minio and Alvisio Gavriel, were ordered by the doge to secure the

³⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.375-376: “Castellani et omnes qui il illis fuerint, sint ex subditis et fidelibus nostris, et quod neminem alium recognoscant quam nostrum dominium, et nomini obediant quam illud representantibus. Custodie autem vocentur sub nomine regine et infantis regis”.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p.379.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p.381.

³⁵² Ibid., pp.380-382.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp.375-376: “Et est nostre intentionis ut, ultra omnes peregrinos ab capitaneo nostro generali et provisoribus ex insula illa ejectos, vos quicquid forte restat suspectorum hominum in diem licentiate; et purgate penitus totum regnum omni suspecto homine, ne, aut domina Carlota aut principales illi conjurati, per hujusmodi hominum medium, aliquid habere possint commercii vel practice in insula predicta; sed omnes vias et omnes modus abscidite et truncate”.

kingdom.³⁵⁴ Whatever they decided to do, they would firstly have to gain the approval of Venice.³⁵⁵

Caterina's relative lack of power and experience was also reflected on the absence of control of Cyprus's defence on her part, whichm hence, was undertaken by the Venetian representatives on the island. In June 1474, the doge instructed the provveditore generale of Cyprus, Joanni Superantio, to take control of all the castles and the cities and ensure the removal of all Carlotta's supporters. The most important aspect was the security of the queen and her child.³⁵⁶ The infant Jacques III died in August 1474,³⁵⁷ and after his death Caterina's position as *de facto* queen regnant of Cyprus was more insecure than ever. According to her husband's will, she did not have the right to stay on the throne since, in the event of the infant's death, Jacques' three illegitimate children would assume rights of succession. Gradually, Caterina was marginalised, while Venice increased its control of the island. These factors provide the backdrop to Caterina's departure from Cyprus and her effective abdication in 1489. Venice secured Caterina's position as queen after the death of Jacques III. From 1474, Cyprus became a "Venetian protectorate" until it was annexed to the republic in 1489.³⁵⁸ The two counsellors and the provveditore subordinated the powers of the local authorities, while other commanders (castellani) were sent from Venice to Famagusta and Cerines.³⁵⁹ These kind of envoys were normally sent from Venice to its colonies and Cyprus was still not one of them. Thus, this is a sign that Venice was planning to annex the island.

In spite of the fact that Venice removed members of her extended family from the queen's retinue, the doge decided in November 1474, to send Caterina's father to Cyprus to visit, support and secure the weak and powerless queen after her son's unexpected death.³⁶⁰ It was intended that this could be

³⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.372-373.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p.379.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.386-390.

³⁵⁷ Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.107; Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 57.

³⁵⁸ Benjamin Arbel, "A Fresh Look at the Venetian Protectorate of Cyprus (1474-89)" in *Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 213.

³⁵⁹ Arbel, "Protectorate", 214.

³⁶⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.398.

beneficial for the young queen and her retention of the Cypriot throne, since Marco Cornaro would try to encourage obedience to her. On his arrival, according to the 11 November 1474 letter of the senate to Marco, he should supervise the administration and ensure that both the nobles and the ordinary people would show faith and obedience to their queen, who was still protected by the republic.

Nonetheless, we encourage the queen to have in mind God's will, and her preservation in her royal state. And all the nobles, nation and all kinds of people, should preserve the queen with faith and obedience, and all impartially for the hope, as they are necessary to us for the safety and the preservation of the kingdom, like the dearest and most precious part of our whole state.³⁶¹

Marco should oversee carefully the administrative authorities. "[A]lso, it is good to bring faith in the administration of the kingdom that has several parts, in the committee and counsellors that handles them. We want you to observe carefully our provveditore as well, the function of his office, where the councillors are deceased".³⁶²

Marco Cornaro's presence in Cyprus, nevertheless, caused disputes with the provveditore and counsellors, who were, of course, sent by Venice. This time, Caterina acted as well, sending a letter to the doge and it seems that her father's presence encouraged her to defend her rights as the island's supreme authority. Caterina complained that the two counsellors were interfering in her governance and that was humiliating and intolerable.³⁶³ As she wrote, the two men did not act "[a]s counsellors, but as superiors and governors".³⁶⁴ Caterina took it further by providing details to the doge of their unacceptable behaviour:

Having come here, we have found their presence more harmful than useful. [...] These two gentlemen show that they are wise about the things

³⁶¹ Ibid., p.400: "Hortare nichilominus reginam ad ferendum equo animo Dei Voluntatem, et ad conservationem sui ipsius in statu regio suo; et nobiles omnes, populos et omnifariam subjectas gentes ad fidem obedientiamque servandam regine, et omnes indifferenter ad sperandum de nobis quantum pro salute et conservatione sua necessarium sit, quod regnum illud ita sumus propugnaturi et conservaturi, sicut quamcumque chariorem et pretiosiore partem totius status nostri".

³⁶² Ibid., pp.400-401: "Alter est circa bonam, fidelemque introitum regni administrationem, quod plures habet partes, ut in commissionibus consiliariorum distincte continentur; quas omnes observari diligentissime Volumus a superstile consiliario et a provvisore nostro, fungente tam suo officio quam vicibus consilarii defuncti".

³⁶³ Mas-Latrie, *Nouveaux*, pp.456-460.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.457-458: "non come conseieri, ma come superiori e governadori".

of Cyprus, but they do not have much experience and they validate their information from Cypriots of low character. [...] The reason for these things is that these gentlemen wanted us to write a letter to our despute. [...] But, it is not honest if they do things without my will. [...] And do not doubt, Your Sublimeness, that we will not do things that may be harmful for me, either personally or for my state, because that is what is going to happen. The things that I will do, will be done with counsel and wisdom. May it please, Your Signory, should write a letter to these our Consellers.³⁶⁵

Caterina added how thankful she was for the presence of her father: “[M]y father wanted to come [back to Venice] with the galleys from Beirut. Realising that my situation is in bad terms, I have begged him for his paternal love towards me as I want him to stay at this time [here in Cyprus]”.³⁶⁶

On 15 April 1475, the father of Caterina wrote a letter to the doge.³⁶⁷ In it, Caterina is presented as a queen regnant only in title, as she could not establish well enough her ruling position; she was without substantial financial power, she was not living appropriately for her high status life and the Venetian counsellors were governing the island in such a way as if they were at the top of the hierarchy. About his daughter’s financial situation, he stated that when he arrived in Cyprus, she had no money to spend so he had given her 300 ducats from his money, “[s]o she could be like a lady [e star come una donna] being able to have servants, eat in public occasionally and be able to go to the chapel”.³⁶⁸ Marco further argued that

“[t]hese two Sirs, one in a higher position than the other, do not want just to be counsellors, but lords and governors, and that opinion [as they argue] comes from Venice”.³⁶⁹ They want to be constituted by Her Royal Majesty, and they do not want to follow the steps of the past [meaning Lusignan jurisdiction]. [...] They want to be governors without any

³⁶⁵ Ibid., pp.456-459: “Honde vegnudo quì, havemo trovato la sua vegnuda più tosto sarà nociva cha utile. [...] Questi signori avegni i siano savii de le cose de Cipri, non ne hano gran pratica, e conveneno tuor informazione da Cipriani, i quali molti de loro sono homini de poco carità. [...] E la raxon è perchè questi signori a voiudo che nui fassamo una letera a nostro dispetto. [...] Non è honesto i faza alguna cossa senza el nostro voler. [...] Et non dubuta la Vostra Sublimità che noi non faremo cossa per la quale nui posamo ricevere algun detrimento, ni a la persona nostra, ni al stado nostro, perche avixaremo quella. Le cosse che nui faremo, le faremo consulta et saviamente. Piaqua adonque a la Vostra Signoria scrivere una litera a questi nostri conseieri”.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p.459: “et nostro padre voleva vegnire con queste galie de Baruto; visto le cosse nostre esser a mali termini, l'avemo suplica, per l'amor paterno a verso de noi, chel voia restare questo instade”..

³⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.463-466.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.464.-466

³⁶⁹ Ibid., p.464: “Et la Sua Maestà perchè giurò questi signori, e massime un d'essi, vol esser non consegieri ma signori et governador, et come questa opinion parte da Venetia”.

specialist from Queen's Majesty. [...] Thus, they come and buy whatever they want, without saying anything to the queen. [...] I cannot stand anymore these two gentlemen and they do not want me anymore either, as they have found out and they know that [I am against their power].³⁷⁰

Caterina seemingly needed her father close to her as a counsellor and supporter to face these challenges with which she had to deal.

I wanted to come back to Venice with these galleys, because remaining here seems to me a confusion rather than a benefit. I stay because of the queen's prayers and the paternal love as long as there is a response from Your Sublimity. Because if I could do something good for this kingdom, for Your Sublimity and for the queen, I would stay some more months.³⁷¹

Caterina and Marco were not the only ones who sent letters to the Venetian authorities; On 26 April 1475, the counsellors Quirini et Diedo sent a letter as well arguing that they never over-used their power, on the contrary Marco was acting like the island's ruler.

And [Marco] says that he does not want it, but the queen is a slave and although Her Majesty does not do anything, because most of it is done on the presence and desire of the aforementioned magnificent Lord Marco. And the things [in the kingdom] work not according to the norms of Your Excellency, but according to his natural custom, doing everything according to what is useful and beneficial for him. [...]. Our opinion is that the things should be done according to the needs and benefits of the kingdom, while he would like to focus on his particular purposes.³⁷²

About the same time, a letter was written from the counsellor to the doge arguing "[I] say that Lord Marco is the king, with demonstrations, words and facts".³⁷³ The counsellors also underlined that Caterina and her father were not good enough to rule Cyprus, as they could not balance expenses with the

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p.466: "Esser constituti della Maestà della Regina, et non voler seguir i stelli de l passati [...] I vileno esser cognitori, senza alcuna saputa dalla maestà della Rezina. [...] item, vendeno e comprano quello l piazeno, senza dir alcuna cossa alla Maestà della Rezina. [...] non posso piu questi signori non mi vuol in alcuna parte, perchè imparano loro i".

³⁷¹ Ibid., p.467: "io haveva deliverato tornar con queste galie a Venetia, perchè giuro il mio star qui piuttosto mi pareva de confusion cha de profitto, tanto è stato le pregiere della Maestà della Rezina et l'amor paterno, che me ha fatto condescender fin che ha risposta dalla Vostra Sublimità; perchè se io podesse far qualche ben a questo regno et per ben della Vostra Sublimità et della Maestà della Rezina, anchor staria qui qualche mese".

³⁷² Ibid., p.469: "Et dice non vol che ma Mtà della Regina Sia schiava, et benchè S.Mtà niente fazzi perchè tanto la fa quanto è el voler de ditto magnifico messer Marco; el qual voria redur le cose non secondo li cimandamenti di V.Extia, ma secondo el suo natural consueto, riducendo tutto a sua utilità et beneficio [...] la opinion nostra è che le cose passi secondo el bisogno et ben del regno, et lui voria redurli a suoi propositi particular".

³⁷³ Ibid., p.479: "Sichè concludendo dico che messer Marco è Re, con demonstration, parole e fatti".

kingdom's incomes; thus, the Venetian authorities should exert power on the counsellors to rule in the republic's name.

And her Majesty should not forget the internal expenses of this kingdom, for the soldiers, the guards of the fortresses, the payment of the sultan and the expenses of her court. She spends more than previous kings.³⁷⁴ [...] It is necessary for Your Most Illustrious Serenity, to leave this kingdom not to the queen, who is a most remarkable lady, and Lord Marco who wants to be above everyone. But, [leave the kingdom] to those who in the name of Your Illustrious Signory are very obedient and under the queen's name do everything for the good of this kingdom.³⁷⁵

Venice was evidently maintaining administrative control of the island (which would steadily increase even more) via its new representatives. At the same time, Venice wanted to secure Caterina's position as queen for the republic's benefit, too. If she were to leave the island and lose her throne, Venice's position in Cyprus might be threatened, so Marco Cornaro's mission in Cyprus was important and urgent as well. However, Caterina did not have enough tangible power in herself and she did not gain obedience from the Venetian representatives on the island.

In the same 14 April 1475 letter from Caterina to the doge, Caterina included information relating to Uzun Hasan, a sign that she had started to be involved diplomatically in warfare. This letter is further evidence that Cyprus was acting as an important naval stop, for Venice had started becoming involved in supporting Uzun Hasan against the Ottomans.

Again, from Syria, Your Signory, enquires about these galleys from Beirut from Uzun Hasan. We did not hear anything from the sultan. Although, it is believed that he is planning to organise an armada. But, we will be careful at everything we hear. And one payment will be sent to him.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.471-472: "et sua Maestà non doveria smembrar le intrade di questo suo regno, del qual se ha a trar i soldati, et quelli guarda le fortezze, la paga dil soldan et le spese di la sua corte. [La Regina] spende piui di quello ha fatto i re passati".

³⁷⁵ Ibid., p.473: "Bisogno è che V. Illma S. Lassi questo governo non alla Maestà di la Regina, la qual è Dona notabilissima, ma alla Mag.cia di messer Marco, che voria esser il tutto, o a quelli che sono per nome di V. ILLma Sig. I qual obedientissimi sotto il nome di la Mtà di la Regina fariano ogni ben dil regno"

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p.460. "Da novo, De Soria, la Vostra Signoria intenderà per queste galie de Baruto, de Uxon Cassan. Niente sentimo del soldan. Pur sè divulgado quello vol far armada. Però staremo atento a tuto sentire; e una paga i se manderà."

Marco mentioned, in his letter, the galleys in his letter to the doge as well “[f]rom Syria and Uzun Hasan that Your Sublimity will have from these galleys from Beirut, in reality are copiously advised of everything”.³⁷⁷

In addition to these internal and external issues that Caterina confronted as a sole *de facto* queen regnant, there was another problem. Charlotte was still trying to return as a queen regnant in Cyprus, although now it was more difficult given the Venetian presence on the island and the fact that she was closely watched (as she was still a danger for Venice). In June 1475, the two counsellors, Quirino and Diedo, were informed by Venice that more Venetian military power should arrive in Cyprus for support, as military resources from King Ferdinando and Charlotte were sailing east trying to restore Charlotte to the throne.³⁷⁸ Again, Venice was to secure Caterina as a queen, not least for its own benefit.

After these efforts to stabilise Caterina’s position as *de facto* queen of Cyprus, one more political goal was sought - for her to be recognised as queen by the sultan of Egypt Qaitbay (r. 1468-1496). In fact, in May 1476 (according to Mas-Latrie) or 1477 (according to Malipiero and Caracciolo), Qaitbay replied by letter to Caterina’s apologies for the two-year rent delay, recognising her as legitimate queen of Cyprus (Appendix 5), in spite of the fact that, according to Jacques II’s will, after the death of Jacques III she had no right to stay on the throne.³⁷⁹ The sultan also expressed a sense of honour that she had professed her faith to him, in return for which he was evidently willing to support her: “[Y]ou are the queen and lady of Cyprus, as you were [...], you are placed in our higher commandment by called you queen and lady”.³⁸⁰ “[W]e send this present letter to the praiseworthy queen, watched, really wise and generous Caterina, the highest of her generation, and praiseworthy in her Christian

³⁷⁷ Ibid., p.467: “De Soria et de Ussun Cassan, la Vostra Sublimità haverà per queste galie da Baruti, la qual in vero sono copiosamente de tutto avisado”.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., pp.404-405.

³⁷⁹ Domenico Malipiero, “Annali Veneti”, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VII (1844), 605-606; Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.405-406; Angela Caracciolo Aricò, ed., *Marin Sanudo il Giovane: Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)*, Vol. I (Padua, 1989), 105-106.

³⁸⁰ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.407-408: “Tu sei Regina e Signora de Cypri, come la se atrova [...] et requerir lo altissimo nostro comandamento vui fosse chiamata Regina et Signora”.

generation, beloved by the sultan Carli [Qaitbay]”.³⁸¹ Being recognised as queen was itself very promising for the weak Caterina, and at least offered a ray of hope at least that she might retain her throne. The corollary of this, of course, was that Charlotte’s claim was rejected despite her continuing efforts to return as *de jure* queen. What is more, in subsequent the centuries, Venice would use this decision of the sultan in the rhetorical “battle” against Savoy over their rights to the Cypriot crown. The sultan was probably looking to counter the evident danger to his interests from the Ottomans in the east Mediterranean (Levant). By supporting Caterina against Charlotte, he could have the powerful Venetian republic by his side.³⁸² As a result, political and geostrategic issues favoured Caterina.

After the Egyptian sultan of Egypt recognised Caterina as *de facto* queen, Caterina’s voice was again silenced. Meanwhile, Venice wanted to secure further her position as the ruler of the island. Accordingly, the republic decided to move Jacques II’s illegitimate children away from Cyprus, the legal heirs to the throne according to Jacques II’s will. In October 1476, the Council of Ten ordered the General Captain, Antonio Loredan, to bring Jacques’s three illegitimate children and their grandmother to Venice, claiming that their family was rebelling against the queen.³⁸³ They were transferred to Padua, a Venetian territory,³⁸⁴ after they were asked to abrogate “voluntarily” their claims to the throne. For indemnity, they were given money and a palace in Padua.³⁸⁵ However, they were not allowed to leave the castle without the Council of Ten’s permission.³⁸⁶ All four never returned to Cyprus - Venice evidently did not want to risk its interests in Cyprus by letting anyone outside their control take the island.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p.407: “Mandemo questa nostra presente lettera a la laudabel Regina guardata et sapientissima generosa Catarina, altissima dela sua generation, et laudabele sopra tutta la sua generation christianissima amata da Carli Sultan”.

³⁸² Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.51.

³⁸³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.408-410.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.412-413; AST RC, *Mazzo 1, 2: Relazione della Regia Famiglia Lusignana di Cipro, come sia rimasta estinta, con quali ragioni la Casa di Savoia si assuma il Titolo, et lus di quel Regno, e come la Republica di Venetia ne ostenta le sue pretensioni*, 23r; Gianni Perbellini, “La storia” in Gianni Perbellini, ed., *Cipro, la dote di Venezia: Eredità della Serenissima e ponte verso l’ Oriente* (Milan, 2011), 47.

³⁸⁵ Lorenzo Somma, *La Regina Cornaro tra Cipro e Venezia* (Venice, 1995), pp.150-151; Dorigo, *La Regina*, p.119.

³⁸⁶ Αικατερίνη Χ. Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα της Κυπριακής Ιστορίας από το Αρχείο της Βενετίας*, Vol. I (Nicosia, 1990), pp.143-144.

After Caterina's position as queen was secured, the republic's next step was to take greater control of the local administration. The lack of primary sources prevents us from knowing Caterina's reaction to this. In 1477, the Council of Ten started sending its inquisitors (*sindici*) to the independent Cyprus to assume oversight of the administration of the lower officials to prevent abuses of power.³⁸⁷ From 1477, local salt was transported to Venice and was then sold across the Italian Peninsula, as recorded in Venetian account books.³⁸⁸ The Council of Ten of Venice decided assumed authority for grain exportation.³⁸⁹ From 1478, the Venetian Republic voted to send Venetians to Cyprus to assume greater control of the island;³⁹⁰ in 1479, the local treasurers of Cyprus were replaced by two Venetian chamberlains (*camerarii*).³⁹¹

In 1479, the first Venetian-Ottoman war came to an end.³⁹² Venice would pay an annual fee,³⁹³ gain commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire and secure (temporarily) its colonies.³⁹⁴ However, the Ottomans did not stop expanding in the East Mediterranean,³⁹⁵ potentially threatening the independent kingdom of Cyprus as well. However, the Ottomans chose to attack another island first, besieging Rhodes in 1480 (May to August). Would Caterina be able to lead the defence of Cyprus if it too were threatened, given that she was an inexperienced female ruler facing hostility from the Venetian representatives? This question of course cannot be answered as it is hypothetical. But it might have underscored the attitudes of the Venetian authorities who wanted to keep their advantages when they were increasing the military power of Venice on the island or even when they decided to annex it.

The instability was increased by the westward expansion of the Ottomans. In July 1480, Mehmed encroached upon the Salentine Peninsula, shocking the

³⁸⁷ Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 69; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp.52-53.

³⁸⁸ Arbel, "Protectorate", 222.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁹⁰ Αναστασία Παπαδία-Λάλα, *Ο Θεσμός των Αστικών Κοινοτήτων στον Ελληνικό Χώρο κατά την Περίοδο της Βενετοκρατίας (13ος-18ος αι.): Μια Συνθετική Προσέγγιση* (Venice, 2004), p.135.

³⁹¹ Arbel, "Protectorate", 215-216.

³⁹² Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.321.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.328.

³⁹⁴ Ιωάννης Κ. Χασιώτης, *Οι Ευρωπαϊκές Δυνάμεις και η Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία: Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο από το μέσα του 15ου ως τις αρχές του 19ου αιώνα* (Thessaloniki, 2005), p.119.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.57.

Italian states and Europe in general.³⁹⁶ The Ottomans landed in Apulia (in Southern Italy), capturing Otranto and the surrounding lands.³⁹⁷ They advanced to Lecce³⁹⁸ and Mehmed planned to attack Naples, too.³⁹⁹ With a 1480 bull, Sixtus called all Christians to fight the Ottomans as Rhodes and Otranto was in danger.⁴⁰⁰ Louis XI of France replied positively, as did Germany and England, while⁴⁰¹ the situation in Otranto motivated Ferdinando to organise an anti-Ottoman league involving Hungary, Milan, Ferrara and Florence with the support of the papacy, Genoa and Aragon.⁴⁰² Venice, however, did not want to participate in a general league against the Ottomans, given the threat to Venetian colonies.⁴⁰³ Venice, moreover, did not want to help Naples believing that the Ottomans were a check to Ferdinando's ambitions of becoming king of Italy. While Ferdinando rebutted the insinuation and reminded Venice that he had helped the republic at Negroponte, the Venetians stayed neutral.⁴⁰⁴ Meanwhile, Ferdinando also strengthened fighting operations in the Ionian Sea (to Venice's irritation), Mani (a region in the South Peloponnese), the North-West Epirus and the area of Albania.⁴⁰⁵ However, after a year and a half, Mehmed died and the invasion in the Italian Peninsula stopped. Otranto was liberated in 1481, and Sixtus sent letters to the Emperor and the kings of France, England, Spain and Hungary, and other rulers, letting them know that this would defeat the Ottomans for good.⁴⁰⁶ In September 1481, he sent an envoy to help Andreas Palaeologos take back the old lands of his father, Thomas Despot of Morea, suggesting him to cross the Ionian Sea and arrive in Morea.⁴⁰⁷ However, Sixtus's planned crusade never came to fruition.

³⁹⁶ Setton, p.343.

³⁹⁷ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.58.

³⁹⁸ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.343.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., p.341.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.364.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., pp.366-367.

⁴⁰² Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.59.

⁴⁰³ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.345.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p.365.

⁴⁰⁵ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.59.

⁴⁰⁶ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.373.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., p.372-373.

Mehmed's death was followed by a civil war⁴⁰⁸ As Mehmed wanted his younger son Cem (Jem) to succeed him, but finally, his older son Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), succeeded him.⁴⁰⁹ The civil war between Bayezid and Cem lasted from 1481 until 1495 when Cem died.⁴¹⁰ Cem had left the Ottoman Empire and gone to the Mamluks⁴¹¹ and then to Rhodes until 1482, when he was sent to West Europe.⁴¹² For seven years he was in Savoyard and French territories and then it was agreed that he would be moved to Rome.⁴¹³ During the war between the Ottomans and the Mamluks, the security and independence of Cyprus and the rulership of Caterina Cornaro were at risk, as battles were taking place around Cyprus. Thus, the support of the Venetian Republic to Caterina, could be beneficial in case of an attack by the Ottomans. However, temporarily, Bayezid did not focus on battles against Christian positions, including Cyprus, because a potential release of Cem, could have a new crusade as a result.⁴¹⁴

In the meantime, in 1481, Venice established *Provveditori sopra uffici e le cose del Regno di Cipro*, a new body focusing on the finances of Cyprus,⁴¹⁵ further indicating Venice's steady annexation of the island. Was Caterina a weak queen regnant who had no choice but accept that or did she approve all that as part of her diplomatic strategy to remain in Cyprus as a queen? Unfortunately, there are no primary sources to answer this.

While the eastern Mediterranean continued to be on a faultline between the Christian powers, the Ottomans and the Mamluks between 1482 and 1484, in the Italian Peninsula, the War of Ferrara was taking place pitting Rome and Venice against Ferrara and Naples assisted by Milan, Florence, Mantua and Urbino.⁴¹⁶ In late 1482, Rome changed side.⁴¹⁷ Ferrara would stay independent,

⁴⁰⁸ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, pp.58-59.

⁴⁰⁹ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.371.

⁴¹⁰ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.60.

⁴¹¹ Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491* (Leiden, 1995), pp.104-105.

⁴¹² Ibid., p.383.

⁴¹³ Ibid., pp.153, 384-385.

⁴¹⁴ Norman Housley, "Introduction" in Norman Housley, ed., *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures* (Abingdon, 2017), p.82.

⁴¹⁵ Arbel, "Protectorate", 217.

⁴¹⁶ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.375.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p.376.

but Venice's opposition provoked a new league in 1483 with Ferrara, Rome, Naples, Florence and Milan against Venice.⁴¹⁸ Having to face this situation, Venice really wanted another treaty with the Ottomans, so it could focus on the league with the support of Bayezid against the other Italian states. Venice signed a new treaty with the Ottomans in 1482 to secure its territories.⁴¹⁹ In 1483, the Venetians, after an agreement with the Ottomans, took control of Zakynthos and Kefalonia.⁴²⁰

Cyprus's fate was complicated still further by the deterioration of the relations between the Ottomans and the Mamluks. In May 1485, Bayezid invaded Cilicia, but Kayitbay did not recognise him as the Lord of Cilicia, leading to the first Ottoman-Mamluk War, which lasted until 1491.⁴²¹ Cyprus's proximity to Cilicia placed it in danger and was of understandable concern to Venice, given the island was "the principal Venetian naval base in the eastern Mediterranean and the bridgehead to the Levant".⁴²² In January 1486, Francisco di Priuli was sent to Famagusta of Cyprus to strengthen the walls of the city. In June 1486, Priuli was again in Cyprus after false information that forces from the Ottoman navy were ordered to move towards Cyprus. In August 1486, Priuli was ordered to secure Cyprus and in case that the Ottoman fleet would ask to approach the island, Priuli would have to answer in a "friendly manner" allowing entry to no more than ten Ottoman boats.⁴²³

While Venice sought neutrality with the Ottomans to secure its positions in the eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus, in 1486, Innocent asked Isabel and Fernando to start a war against the Ottomans after they had dealt with the Moors. The same year, the Emperor responded positively to the papal envoy and, in 1487, Innocent, with the papal bull *Universo pene orbi*, sought to organise Christendom against the Ottomans. Again, in Europe there were internal rivalries and tensions.⁴²⁴ A new crusade, even without Venice's

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p.376.

⁴¹⁹ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.119.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p.59.

⁴²¹ Ibid., pp.134-137.

⁴²² Ibid., p.160.

⁴²³ Ibid., pp.160-161.

⁴²⁴ Setton, *The Papacy II*, pp.402-403.

participation, could result in the loss of Venetian colonies and that was something Venice would not let happen easily. A new crusade constituted still a greater danger to Cyprus at the same time that the Ottoman-Mamluk war was taking place in the region.

Under these circumstances, in February 1487, the Venetian Senate decided to incorporate Cyprus into its empire and to raise the flag of Saint Mark on the island.⁴²⁵ Venice's aim at this time was to ensure Cyprus's defence, instructing the General Captain of the Sea to transfer three hundred of the republic's best soldiers to the island.⁴²⁶ The Venetian authorities in Cyprus increased even more their supervisory powers over the island. Venice's provveditore and the counsellors in Cyprus were asked for a general financial report covering the years 1477 to 1486.⁴²⁷ Also, Venice instituted a new annual financial register in Cyprus, with copies sent to Venice. The routine managers of this register would be two Venetian bookkeepers (*quadernieri*) who would be supervised by the two chamberlains (*camerarii*), a Venetian principal in the island since 1479.⁴²⁸ One chamberlain would be responsible for the "book of goods" and the other for the "book of money", allowing Venice closer control over Cyprus's finances.⁴²⁹ However, for the next eighteen months there was no decision regarding the removal of Caterina from the throne.⁴³⁰

In March 1487, Bayezid asked Venice (not Caterina) "to anchor his fleet in Famagusta while at war with the Mamluks",⁴³¹ as the Ottomans needed a base close to Syria and Cilicia.⁴³² The request was not accepted by the Venetians, who had decided from February to take defensive measures in the island,⁴³³ while a Venetian envoy was sent to Constantinople to find out about the

⁴²⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.416-417; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.52; Robert G. Collmer, "Three women of Asolo: Caterina Cornaro, Katherine de Kay Bronson, and Eleonora Duse", *Mediterranean Studies*, XII (2003), 156.

⁴²⁶ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, pp.52-53.

⁴²⁷ Arbel, "Protectorate", 221.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 221-222.

⁴³⁰ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.52.

⁴³¹ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.161.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, pp.161-162.

⁴³³ Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 69.

Ottoman intentions.⁴³⁴ Venice stated that the republic and the Sultan of Egypt were at peace and that Kayitbay was the overlord of Cyprus.⁴³⁵ Meanwhile, in April, the Venetians took additional measures to secure Cyprus.⁴³⁶ Kayitbay let Caterina know that, if necessary, she would have to defend Cyprus. By doing so, Kayitbay would reduce the tribute the Lusignan kingdom was paying to him.⁴³⁷

What of Caterina in this complex period? It seems that she was informed about the plans of the Ottomans and the risks that her kingdom could face. However, due to the absence of primary sources, we cannot be sure if she was more of a passive actor, informed about Venice's potential actions regarding Cyprus, or whether she behaved more actively and co-decided with the Venetian authorities and their representatives on the island how to address the dangers. Given the fact that, by then, she had been in Cyprus for a considerable period of time, it would be fair to suggest that she was now an experienced queen who could use the seeming weakness of her gender as a diplomatic strategy to maintain Venice's support against every potential enemy and, above all, against the Ottomans. Thus, Caterina could play the weak queen, like Mary Tudor (r.1553-1558) would do in the next century. Namely, Mary's negotiations with the pope (who accepted that secularised monastic lands would not be returned to him) and the wedding to Phillip, son of Isabel and Fernando, "almost entirely to England's advantage" despite the anti-Spanish feelings of her people, proved that she was neither weak nor diplomatically incapable.⁴³⁸

As explained above, Venice had decided to annex Cyprus in February. Nonetheless, Caterina, being a sole queen regnant, disregarded the decision by trying to gain new allies and marry again. By choosing a new husband from a competitor state of Venice, Caterina with her new husband could limit the privileges of Venice or they could even stop them completely. Throughout this

⁴³⁴ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.161.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., pp.161-162.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., p.162.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p.162.

⁴³⁸ Elizabeth Russell, "Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins" in *Historical Research*, Vol.63, Issue 152 (1990), pp.263-272.

period Caterina was a young widow remaining a potentially valuable marriage prospect, not least as a new husband would become the new king of Cyprus. Although there is no specific information about offers of marriage in the early period of her widowhood, it is generally accepted that King Ferdinando of Naples offered, in 1487, his illegitimate son Don Alonzo, secretly sending two agents, Tristano Gibleto from Cyprus and Rizzo di Marino from Naples, to Cyprus to promote this idea.⁴³⁹ Rizzo de Marino, then living in Egypt, was negotiating a deal between Naples and the Mamluks. If King Ferdinando of Naples could find a way to send Cem to Egypt, Kayitbay would support a potential wedding between the son of Ferdinando and Caterina Cornaro risking, in this way, his good relations with Venice. Rizzo de Marino arrived in Rhodes in the same year negotiating with the knights the possibility of sending Cem to Egypt. However, the knights refused to do so.⁴⁴⁰

Boustronios explained with more details what had happened in Cyprus. As he argued, Tristan de Gibelet

came to an agreement with King Ferdinand, that Queen Catherine should be married to his son. [...] Rizzo, moreover, happened to be in Syria, and they were planning to marry her to King Ferdinand's son after the king's death. Furthermore, Tristan came to Syria [on a ship belonging to King Ferdinand] and found Rizzo, [a Cypriot knight who was there in exile] and told him of the matter. He, moreover, longing to return to Cyprus and in a state of distress, gave Tristan his consent. Besides, he got on board the ship and they both came to Cyprus, and Tristan left Rizzo becalmed on the high seas, came ashore and landed, in order to speak to the queen. In addition, Lady Vera his sister was one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting and was at the court. Tristan, moreover, arrived and went to the court, and he remained there in hiding, in order for the papers that he wished to take with him to be readied. Besides, he spent a week at the court, did that which he wished to do and ventured forth in order to board the ship and reach his desired destination. [...] Venetian ships spotted this ship before his arrival, closed in on it, [perceived that it was a foreign vessel] seized it, examined it and found out everything. They also seized Rizzo and interrogated him, and he told them that Tristan had arrived in Nicosia and that he was waiting for him to [return and] board the ship. [In addition, he told them the sign that Tristan was going to give on his arrival so as to reach the ship. And they, taking the ship, put Rizzo in irons, and placed

⁴³⁹ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.171-173; Monod, *Trattato*, p.41; Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice, Edited by Robert W. Ulery*, Vol. I (London, 2007). pp.38-41; Arbel, "Reign of Caterina", 79.

⁴⁴⁰ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, p.157.

people of their own on board the ship. Furthermore, Tristan's sign was to fire a shot on the shore, so that the boat would go and bring him to the ship. As soon as he entered the boat, moreover, they took him to the ship. And on realising that it was not his own company, he forthwith threw the papers he was holding into the sea. He too was put in irons. In addition, Tristan was holding a diamond ring and he broke it, shattering the stone, and died. And Rizzo too was taken away]. And regarding Rizzo we have not learnt what manner of death he met".⁴⁴¹

According to Boustronios, Caterina's mother, Fiorenza Crispo, was asked by the republic to immediately go to Cyprus to convince her daughter to return to Venice, arriving there in 1487 and staying for a year. Boustronios wrote that,

In the course of the many journeys that she had to make, moreover, she told her that the Venetian government was imploring her to go, to spend a year or so there and then to come back again, the queen promised her that she would go. And she said to her: 'My daughter, I am going and I shall send your brother to keep you company'. Besides, as soon as she had departed, in [the year] of Christ 1488, the queen's brother Sir George came to Cyprus.⁴⁴²

Things became even more promising for the republic when Charlotte died in July 1487. Given that all the illegitimate children of Jacques II had already been moved to Venetian territories, Venice had succeeded in minimising the danger of a Lusignan member taking the Cypriot crown.

But, although Caterina is presented by the evidence as a weak queen regnant with no tangible power, she was still the monarch of the island. Thus, it seems that from this point until her departure in 1489, she resisted Venice's wish for her to depart. Thus, for around two years she negotiated her departure, receiving advice from her mother and brother. The fact that she resisted suggests that she had some independence of action that she could still use for her own benefit, against the will of her motherland.

Meanwhile, in 1488, Rizzo de Marino was in Venice confessing his meeting with Caterina in Cyprus.⁴⁴³ On 18 October 1488, the Council of Ten decided that Joannes Contareno and Nicolao Mocenigo should not attend

⁴⁴¹ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, pp.172-173.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p.173.

⁴⁴³ Joachim, "Caterina", 135-136.

future council meetings, as they were cousins of Caterina, and on 23 October 1488, the Council of Ten informed the General Captain of its decision that Caterina should leave Cyprus, under the Captain's escort⁴⁴⁴:

You must go to our kingdom of Cyprus and send Queen Caterina Cornaro here in Venice. [...] And after her departure, in the forthcoming Great Council meeting [in Venice], a duke and a captain should be elected to govern Cyprus, with the same methods and conditions like those of the duke and Captain of Crete.⁴⁴⁵

Bustron wrote that:

Having discovered that King Ferdinando, through his minister Rizzo di Marin and Tristan de Gible, Cypriot gentleman, wanted to marry the queen with one of his natural sons. [...] For this, the Venetians were agitated, and also because the sultan of Syria was very close to Cyprus, and afraid at the same time of the ambushes of the Turks, therefore it did not seem secure to have the queen in Cyprus, so they sent Giorgio Cornaro, her brother, to Cyprus, to convince her to leave the government of the kingdom to the republic, and that she had to return to her homeland, to live in peace surrounded by her relatives.⁴⁴⁶

Here, it is more obvious that the power to make serious decisions, even about personal matters, was in the hands of the republic not in Caterina's. This was the reason why they sent her brother to Cyprus to convince her to return to Venice and give the island to Venice. The fact that, in 1487, Fiorenza Crispo was on the island and, in 1488, Giorgio Cornaro as well, indirectly suggests that Caterina was reluctant to leave.

⁴⁴⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.417.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.417-418: "Navigate nel regno nostro de Cypro, dove [...] dobiare tuore in galia la rezina Catarina de Cypro, et mandarla qui a Venetia. [...] Et ex nunc, sit captum che, subito zonta la rezina predicta in questa terra, nel primo gran conseio che sè farà, siano electi uno duca et uno capitano in l'isola de Cypri, cum quelli modi et conditione Che sè fano el duca et capitano de Crede".

⁴⁴⁶ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.454: "Essendo scoperto che re Ferdinando trattava per mezzo del Rizzo Marino, suo ministro, e Tristan de Gible, gentilhuomo cipriotto, di maritar la regina con un suo figliuolo naturale. [...] Mossi adunque i signori Venetiani per questo, e anco però che il signor soldan della Soria era tanto vicino a Cipro, e temendo medemamente le insidie del Turco, per la qual cosa non le pareva sicuro l'esser della regina in Cipri, mandarono Giorgio Cornaro, fratello di lei, in Cipro a persuaderla che lasciasse il governo del regno alla Repubblica, e che lei si dovesse ritornare in la sua patria, a viver tra li suoi parenti con tranquillità".

On 28 October 1488, the Council of Ten decided that in order for Caterina to leave the island immediately, her brother would need to travel there urgently.⁴⁴⁷

And above all, on behalf of our Republic, you should assure her that in coming here to Venice, we will receive her, we will have an agreement with her, and we will continually have it and keep it with the honour that a queen, and particularly our most dear queen daughter, should hold and enjoy, such as “her Majesty” and also the royal assignment which she has at the present time; and here in Venice she will be discharged from the [military] campaigns and she will stay in free territories and she will receive money, which will correspond to the revision of the eight thousand ducats, an amount she currently receives annually; and from us it will be monthly, as her Majesty will see and be satisfied; so that is how the things will be when she comes, and it will be really convenient [for her] and with less danger and with no rancorous souls and less nuisance. In comparison with the present circumstances; then, nothing should cause concern [to her], as she will be honoured in every way continually.⁴⁴⁸

On 3 November 1488, Priuli was informed by the Council of Ten that Giorgio was on his way to Cyprus, while an envoy to Egypt was to be sent to explain Caterina's departure in order that Cyprus would be protected from the Ottomans.⁴⁴⁹ Also on 3 November 1488, the Council of Ten sent a letter to Caterina telling her that it was important to return. She would have all the luxuries that she used to enjoy as a queen: she would be welcomed as a queen and daughter of Venice, 8000 ducats per year and a comfortable and secure life.⁴⁵⁰ Caterina, though, was hesitant to leave immediately.

On 8 November 1488, Nicholas Capello, the provveditore generale da Mar (“the supreme commander of the fleet in peacetime”⁴⁵¹), let the Council of Ten know that a lady of Caterina's retinue and sister of Tristan de Giblest, called Vera, left Cyprus and went to Rhodes. Capello believed that Caterina was

⁴⁴⁷ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.420-425.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., p.422: “Et super omnia nostro nomine policebimini et affirmabitis eidem quod, veniente ipsa huc Venetias, illam excipiemus, tractabimus et continuanter habebimus et tenebimus cum illo honore quo teneri et haberi debet una regina et uti regina filia nostra carissima, sicuti est majestas sua, et illi, vel ex regia illa super assignamentis que illic de presenti habet, vel hic Venetiis, ex expeditioribus vel liberioribus locis et denariis qui sint, responderi sibi faciemus illam ipsam provisionem ducatorum octo mille quos de presenti habet istic singulis quibuscunque annis, vel de nostris in mensem, sicuti majestati sue magis videbitur et placuerit; sic quod, quando hic fuerit, restabit pari commodo et cum minori periculo et animi rancore et minori fastidio quam istic, faciat; nihil demum pretermisuros que pertineant ad ejus honorationem et omnimodum contentamentum”.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.425-427.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.428-429.

⁴⁵¹ Arbel, “Maritime Empire”, 152.

planning to go there as well.⁴⁵² If this was the case, then it is further evidence of her disobeying the decision of Venice. The republic ordered that Giorgio who had left Venice should first stop in Rhodes. If Caterina were there, Giorgio should convince her to follow Venice's orders.⁴⁵³ If she refused, the Grand Master of Rhodes should help, and if he refuses, Mocenigo should urgently go to Cyprus and stay there.⁴⁵⁴ As Mocenigo's instructions detailed:

Furthermore, if the most Serene Queen does not listen to our recommendations and to the explanations of her brother, then she should not be induced away from Rhodes. If that is the case, then we command you that it is our intention for you to meet the Great Master of Rhodes; do everything possible in these instances to ask him to mediate and convince the queen to satisfy our will. And if he is not able to do that, this means that you must require him to come back to you and assure the most Serene Queen, underlining to him his offences that could result from this position. With all these wise, peaceful but effective words, ways and means that will be used by you, the relevant aforementioned effect will occur. [...] In the case that you cannot have back the most Serene Queen, you should not leave the waters of Cyprus, in order for you to provide any possible strategy that maybe as you know will be necessary for the salvation and maintenance of this kingdom. And everything that is needed will be given to you to realize the instructions that were given to you.⁴⁵⁵

However, Caterina never left the island.⁴⁵⁶ Giorgio met her in Cyprus and according to Bustron she told him: "The Venetians are not satisfied of having this island after my death? Why do they want to dispossess from me the legacy of my husband so early?"⁴⁵⁷ And Giorgio replied:

My dear sister, you should not have to make such an evaluation of Cyprus, which is surrounded by infidels and powerful enemies, besides the various and continuous dangers that keep it under siege, with all

⁴⁵² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.429-431; Joachim, "Caterina", 142.

⁴⁵³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.430; Joachim, "Caterina", 142.

⁴⁵⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.430-431; Joachim, "Caterina", 142.

⁴⁵⁵ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.431: "Ceterum, si eadem Serenissima regina ullis suasionibus et rationibus fratris non posset induci ad discedendum ex Rhodo et satisfaciendum mandatis et deliberationibus nostris, in tali casu, est intentionis nostre et ita vobis mandamus ut apud illum reverendissimum dominum magnum magistrum Rhodi facere debeatis omnes convenientes possibiles instantias quod vellent interponere operam suam in persuadendam ipsam reginam ad satisfaciendum huic nostre voluntati. Et non valente hoc medio, tunc demum requiretis illum quod velit vobis reddere et consignare ipsam serenissimam reginam, commemorando excelsissime dominationi sue scandala que ex hoc possent provenire. Utemini preterea circa hoc illis omnibus sapientibus verbis, modis et mediis placabilibus, ceterum efficacibus, que vobis videbuntur pertinentes ad effectum predictum. [...] Casu vero quo eandem serenissimam reginam non possetis habere, non discedetis ab illis aquis Cypri, pro providendo ad omnia opportuna et necessaria salvationi et conservationi ipsium regni, sicuti cognoveritis esse opus".

⁴⁵⁶ Joachim, "Caterina", 142.

⁴⁵⁷ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.455: "Non si contentono li signori Venetiani d'aver quest'isola da poi la mia morte, perchè mi vogliono privare di questo lascito del mio marito, così per tempo?"

manner of traps, which can put you in danger, as you are a woman without trustworthy council, and many of those you believe are faithful are not thinking about anything else than removing you from the kingdom, maybe because they dislike being ruled and governed by a woman.⁴⁵⁸

Caterina, seemingly powerless, was thus not allowed by Venice to marry again and she was also forced to abandon the kingdom, in spite of the fact that she appeared unwilling to leave.

Of course, sending Fiorenza Crispo and Giorgio Cornaro was not enough and finally, Venice had to explain to Caterina the reasons she had to abandon Cyprus. So, in November 1488, the Council of Ten sent a letter to Caterina giving her “paternal advice” and calling her “dilitissima” (dutiful) and “obsequentissima” (obedient) Daughter of Venice.⁴⁵⁹ The Council let her know that she would not lose her high status: “[W]e will receive her and we will embrace her and honour her like it is proper to a queen, and our dearest queen daughter”.⁴⁶⁰ Secondly, she would have an annual pension: “[S]he will have and receive the satisfied amount of eight thousand ducats of her provision”.⁴⁶¹ Thirdly, “[S]he will have a convenient life and with less danger and less rancour of the soul and less discomfort of what she is doing there [in Cyprus]. We are not going to omit a real fact that we know that is relevant to the honour and any kind of satisfaction of your majesty, of which we are and we also aim to be always the father”.⁴⁶² These three points show that while Caterina would lose her kingdom, she would keep her sovereign status in exile, a point that will be analysed in the next part of the chapter.

Another reason that encouraged Venice to annex Cyprus was the fact that in early 1488, the Ottomans “were already gathering off the island of

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., p.455: “Sorella mia carissima, non dovete voi far tanta stima de Cipro, che si trova circondata da ogni ritorno da nemici infedeli e potenti, oltra li molti e continui pericoli, che la tengono assediata, con tendervi insidie di più sorte, le quali vi ponno con facilità nocer, essendo voi donna senza consiglio fidato, e molti di quelli che voi credete fidelissimi non studiano altro che di privarvi dal regno, forse perchè si sdegnano d’esser signoreggiati e governatida una femina”.

⁴⁵⁹ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.428-429; Αριστειδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, pp.205-206.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p.428: “Nui la receveremo et abazeremo et et honoreremo come sè convien a regina, et regina fiola nostra carissima”.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p.428: “Haver et recever la satisfatio di ducati octo mille annual de la provision sua”.

⁴⁶² Ibid., pp.428-429: “Sè ritroverà cum pare comodo et cum menor periculo et rancor de animo et fastidio de quello la faci de li. Demum, non siamo per pretermettere cossa veruna quale cognosceremo esser pertinente alla honoratione et omnimodo contentamento de la maestà vostra, de la qual siamo stati, siamo et intendemo sempre esser padre pientissimo”.

Skyros". Immediately, Venice sent Priuli in Cyprus to protect the island from the Ottoman navy, from Skyros to the Levant.⁴⁶³ He arrived just two days "before the Ottoman fleet reached the maritime zone of the island", and though the two fleets never met, this affair convinced Venice even more that it was urgent to annex Cyprus.⁴⁶⁴

Yet, although Caterina failed to retain independent control of her throne, it does not mean that she lacked popular support, so far as the evidence suggests. Boustronios wrote:

Furthermore, on 15 February 1489 the queen left Nicosia in order to go to Famagusta, to leave [Cyprus]. And she went on horseback wearing a black silken cloak, with all the ladies and the knights in her company [and six knights by her bridle and flanking her horse]. Her eyes, moreover, did not cease to shed tears throughout the procession. The people likewise shed many tears. Besides, there were men drawn up, and all the soldiers had come to Nicosia. And as soon as she came out of the court, they let up the cry: 'Marco! Marco! [In addition, on their arrival in Famagusta jousts were organised]'.⁴⁶⁵

Before her departure, Caterina was asked by the Council of Ten, via Priuli, to write to the Egyptian sultan explaining that the decision to leave the island was spontaneous. In the letter she should include that the choice was the best option, that the island could be better protected from the Ottomans.⁴⁶⁶ Caterina then embarked for Venice on 26 February 1489 and arrived in Venice on 6 June 1489.⁴⁶⁷ February 26 was the date of both Caterina's abdication and the beginning of the Venetian period of rule in Cyprus.⁴⁶⁸ Before finishing this discussion, there is a question that should be answered: why was Caterina not helped by her family to retain her throne? The most probable answer was that by helping her against Venice's will, the consequences for the family would have been serious, threatening both Giorgio's political career and the potential

⁴⁶³ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, pp.171-172.

⁴⁶⁴ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.172.

⁴⁶⁵ Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.174.

⁴⁶⁶ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.425-427; Skoufari, "Caterina e la corte", 70-71; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.743-746.

⁴⁶⁷ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.53.

⁴⁶⁸ Benzoni, "Cipro e Venezia", 70.

ecclesiastical and political options of his children.⁴⁶⁹ According to Bustron, Giorgio also told his sister that if she were to abdicate she would live the rest of her life back home in honour and glory, with financial security and a fief. What is more, the Cornaro family itself might obtain additional benefits. In contrast, if Caterina were to say no, the family would have been destroyed.⁴⁷⁰ As Giorgio convinced his sister to return to Venice, the republic gave him the title “Padre della Patria”, while the Cornaro family was given the right to use two Lusignan symbols in its heraldic devices, the rampant lions and the Crusaders’ cross.⁴⁷¹ It seems evident that the republic’s offer to the Cornaro family was tempting enough to offset any qualms they might have had.

In September 1489, Doge Agostino Barbarigo (r. 1486-1501) sent Pietro Diedo to the Egyptian sultan to explain that Caterina had returned to Venice because of the Turkish threat to Cyprus.⁴⁷² In early 1490, after around a year of negotiations, the sultan Qaitbay finally accepted this decision as long as the republic would still pay the annual fee. The Venetian period of rule thus started in February 1490.⁴⁷³ In March 1489, Cem arrived in Rome, where he was received formally with “a royal reception”. With Cem in Rome, Bayezid was afraid of a new crusade, which prompted him to seek peace with the Mamluks. In August 1489, Philip de Canova travelled to Egypt, as the pope’s representative, to discuss with Cem, meeting there with Kayitbay and Piero Dido, Venice’s representative. Dido was in Egypt to negotiate Cyprus’s status with an agreement signed on 9 March 1490, according to which Venice would continue paying the annual tribute. At the same time, Florence gained a commercial treaty with Egypt. Kayitbay via these treaties was hoping for the support of Venice and Florence in Rome, as the pope had invited Christian

⁴⁶⁹ Perocco, “Introduzione”, 27.

⁴⁷⁰ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.457.

⁴⁷¹ William L. Barcham, *Grand in Design: The life and career of Federico Cornaro, Prince of the Church, Patriarch of Venice and Patron of the Arts* (Venice, 2001), pp.27-28.

⁴⁷² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.435-441; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.158.

⁴⁷³ Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, p.478; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.158; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.53; Skoufari, “Caterina e la corte”, 70-71.

rulers to prepare a new crusade. While the Crusaders would attack the Ottomans, the Mamluks would “open a second front in Anatolia”.⁴⁷⁴

After Caterina’s departure, the situation in the Mediterranean seemed more unstable. In April 1489, with a new papal brief, Innocent called Christendom to unite against the Ottomans.⁴⁷⁵ In July 1489, as Emperor Maximilian and Charles VIII signed the Treaty of Frankfurt, the pope tried again to convince them to support a crusade.⁴⁷⁶ In a context of peace between France and Germany and also peace in England, Flanders, Brittany and Brabant, Innocent sought to bring the emperor and Matthias together.⁴⁷⁷ What is more, it was hoped that Cem would accompany the new crusade against his brother.⁴⁷⁸ A second effort to unite Christendom and organize the crusade took place in 1490.⁴⁷⁹ Venice did not send representatives on the conversations about the crusade, preferring to keep the peace agreement with the Ottomans, though the death of Matthias effectively brought these crusading efforts to an end.⁴⁸⁰

Bayezid attacked Malta in 1490 and Fernando of Aragon confronted him.⁴⁸¹ In November 1490, an envoy of Mehmed was sent in Rome and it was agreed informally not to attack further Christian lands on the condition that Cem would be kept in Rome.⁴⁸² Moreover, in June 1490, Bayezid was ready for another campaign against the Mamluks, though on this occasion, the Tunisian ruler mediated between them fearing the threat to his own territories from the Spanish. In fact, the Spanish really wanted to capture the western Mediterranean coast of Maghreb and they were not far from achieving it.⁴⁸³

During the Venetian period in Cyprus, the Lusignan High Court was cancelled and royal fiefs became public fiefs and were either sold or rented by

⁴⁷⁴ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, pp.197-200.

⁴⁷⁵ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.405.

⁴⁷⁶ Jesse Rodin, *Josquin’s Rome: Heaving and Composing in the Sistine Chapel* (Oxford, 2012), pp.14-15.

⁴⁷⁷ Setton, *The Papacy II*, p.412.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.413.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.411.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.414.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.411.

⁴⁸² Rodin, *Sistine Chapel*, p.15.

⁴⁸³ Χασιώτης, *Το Πρόβλημα της Κυριαρχίας*, pp.204-205.

Venice. Cyprus's system of feudal power was in effect broken, while the Venetian authorities also decided those people who would come to rule the island. The core of Cyprus's ruling class was now Venetian.⁴⁸⁴ The Council of Venice began to send Venetian nobles to Cyprus to assume leading positions for tenureships of two years, occasionally overseen by Venetian inspectors (sindici).⁴⁸⁵ A Lieutenant (luogotenente) served as the Venetian-head-administrator in Cyprus with two principal finance officers (camerarii) and two principal councillors (rettori), again sent from Venice. The Captain of Famagusta or Captain of Cyprus (Capitano di Famagusta) assumed peacetime military command,⁴⁸⁶ though he was under the authority of the General Captain of Venice in wartime.⁴⁸⁷ The Venetians were also appointed as commanders of Famagusta and Cerines, the captains of Paphos and of the salines, the captain of the fleet (capitano) and the captains of galleys. The Venetian administration (Reggimento) was directly responsible for the high jurisdiction of Cyprus.⁴⁸⁸

Caterina Cornaro as queen in exile

This chapter now addresses Caterina's profile in exile from 1489, when she left the island until her death in 1510. During these twenty-one years, she resided principally in Venice and Asolo (in the province of Treviso). Asolo was a Venetian territory from 1397 until 1797, and part of the Terraferma.⁴⁸⁹ Venice's annexation of mainland territories was *de facto*, though they *de jure* accepted the dominion.⁴⁹⁰ Given the wealth and population of the Terraferma, it was a

⁴⁸⁴ Αναστασία Παπαδία-Λάλα, "Ο Ελληνοβενετικός Κόσμος (1204-1797): Θεσμοί, Πολιτισμός, Ιδεολογία" in Ν. Γ. Μοσχονάς, *Οι Ναυτικές Πολιτείες της Ιταλίας: Αμάλφη, Πίζα, Γένουα, Βενετία και η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος / Le Repubbliche Marinare Italiane: Amalfi, Pisa, Genova, Venezia e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Athens, 2008), 134-135.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p.150; David Brewer, *Greece, the Hidden Centuries: Turkish Rule from the Fall of Constantinople to Greek Independence* (London, 2012), p.77.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., p.77.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p.77 ; Παπαδία-Λάλα, "Ο Ελληνοβενετικός Κόσμος", 150-151.

⁴⁸⁹ Luigi Comacchio, *Storia di Asolo*, Vol 29.: I podestà di Asolo durante la dominazione di Venezia, 1337-1797 (Asolo, 1987), pp.22-23.

⁴⁹⁰ Michael Knapton, "The Terraferma State" in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 92.

tempting target for the republic.⁴⁹¹ This period of expansion into the Terraferma occurred largely in the early fifteenth century. In 1338, Treviso was firstly annexed, and between 1404 and 1406, Padua, Vicenza and Verona followed, and by 1420, Rovereto, Belluno and Feltrem were under Venetian control. Between 1426 and 1428, Brescia and Bergamo were annexed, in 1440, Trentino (Garda), in 1441, the region Romagna (Ravenna), in 1449, Crema and in 1482, Rovigo. During the Italian wars (1494-1530), Venice temporarily lost most of the territories on the mainland, though they were regained, in 1516, and remained under Venetian control until the fall of the Republic in 1797.⁴⁹²

The Terraferma and Stato da Mar “were part of the same state, ruled by the same magistrates and central councils and according to the same political concepts and ideas”.⁴⁹³ The provincial elites were excluded from the high rank politics⁴⁹⁴ and it should be added, they were excluded from the politics of Venice (they did not apply for participation either).⁴⁹⁵ The major patriarchal officials were sent by Venice in the main cities and in some smaller towns.⁴⁹⁶ In the Terraferma the governors (podestà) were elected by Venice and they were leading the Venetian jurisdictions there (as with the luogotenente in Cyprus).⁴⁹⁷ The governors (one or two for each place) were Venetians with civil, judicial, administrative, executive and military power in their hands.⁴⁹⁸ In the major towns of the Terraferma; Verona, Padua, Treviso, Vicenza and Bergamo, there were two governors.⁴⁹⁹ The first one was the podestà, mainly responsible for civilian affairs, while the second was the captain who headed defence, dealt with the exchequer and was responsible for the contado. The governors were, in turn, surrounded by Venetian treasurers and Venetian castellans with less jurisdictional responsibilities. Occasionally, Venice dispatched inspectors

⁴⁹¹ Edoardo Demo, “Industry and Production in the Venetian Terraferma” in Eric. R. Dursteler, *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 291.

⁴⁹² Knapton, “Terraferma”, 85-86.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 125.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 86.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁴⁹⁷ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.126.

⁴⁹⁸ Knapton, “Terraferma”, 93.

⁴⁹⁹ Edoardo Demo “New Products and Technological Innovation in the Silk Industry of Vicenza in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century” in Karel Davids, *Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities* (London, 2016), 82.

(sindici inquisitori) to the Terraferma to check that its authorities were governing well.⁵⁰⁰

Venice gave some freedoms to the cities of the Terraferma on condition that they would not damage the republic politically or commercially.⁵⁰¹ Those cities were *civitas superiorem non recognoscens*, with a degree of legislative and judicial authority, “producing norms, dispensing justice and handling taxation, public finance, and a myriad other administrative tasks”. The Venetian authorities and the Terraferma governors collaborated with the local aristocratic civil council, the notaries and judges, the local judicial and administrative institutions, the civil bodies and the rural communities.⁵⁰²

Across this period, Venetian authorities conceded fiefs and feudal titles to mercenaries and partisans as rewards for their services.⁵⁰³ One of them – uniquely – was Caterina: no other woman had received a feudal title and territory beforehand.⁵⁰⁴ Caterina became the Lady of Asolo (her power there will be analysed later). It is worth mentioning, though, that the negotiations between Venice and Caterina discussed in the previous part of the chapter, did not mention Asolo or another place of exile before Caterina’s departure from Cyprus. Asolo is first mentioned on 20 June 1489, after the queen’s return to Venice,⁵⁰⁵ and the position of Lady of Asolo was temporarily created especially for her alone; nonetheless, she was not allowed to bequeath the title and fief.⁵⁰⁶ In the absence of archival evidence, it nevertheless remains unclear if Caterina was forced to live outside Venice or whether she proposed it herself. Yet, as a ruler of Asolo, Caterina was able to keep her royal status and retinue, being in that way a queen in exile and not an exiled queen, albeit on a much-reduced scale and under closer watch from the Venetian authorities.

⁵⁰⁰ Knapton, “Terraferma”, 93.

⁵⁰¹ Tom Scott, *The City-State in Europe, 1000-1600* (Oxford, 2012), p.210.

⁵⁰² Knapton, “Terraferma”, 92-95.

⁵⁰³ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, 126.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.125.

⁵⁰⁶ Gullino, “Caterina: vicende”, 31.

At this point, as with Charlotte, we can pose a direct question: was Caterina a queen in exile, or just a former queen? Although, in Charlotte's case, it is clear that she was a queen coerced into external exile, the same was not entirely the case with Caterina. While Caterina was advised, and was indirectly forced, to abdicate her throne, it was nevertheless her decision ultimately to leave. Also, although she was exiled from Cyprus, she returned to her motherland and her family - she did not have to travel around, like Charlotte, in search of support. In an effort to claim that she was a queen in exile, her exile experiences while exiled are addressed, focusing on whether she had lost or maintained her power and sovereign status through the way she was seen by others. Finally, the benefits and high states that the Cornaro family gained from Caterina's sovereign status shall be reviewed, as it represents another way to consider the nature of her sovereignty.

Did Caterina retain her sovereign status? The way she was formally received upon her arrival demonstrates that she was welcomed as a queen. She embarked for Venice on 26 February 1489 and arrived on 6 June 1489.⁵⁰⁷ As the official historiographer of Venice, Pietro Bembo, explained,

After this the queen's royal trappings and accoutrements were loaded, and she and her brother embarked on the warships, putting in at the basin of the port of Venice in the middle of summer. She was greeted by the doge Agostino Barbarigo and the senators, who had gone to meet her at the church of San Niccolò dei Mendicoli on the harbour shore, to the great joy of Venetian society and of the people as a whole, who followed her on board little boats.⁵⁰⁸

The fact that the doge and senate gave their respects suggests recognition of a kind of sovereign status. The next day, she went to the waterfront at Saint Mark's Square in the state Bucentaur, accompanied by the doge, in a ceremonial act of officially handing Cyprus to Venice.⁵⁰⁹ Pietro Bembo wrote that all the Venetian society welcomed her, following her boat, and that it was a great honour for her to enter the Bucentaur, "[A]mid the

⁵⁰⁷ Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.53.

⁵⁰⁸ Bembo, *History I*, p.49.

⁵⁰⁹ Terence Mullaly, "Caterina, 'Domina' of Asolo: Lady of the Renaissance" in David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989), 148-149; Αρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2001), p.392.

senators and the noblest ladies of the city, Caterina herself made her entry into Venice borne on the Bucintoro, something which had never before happened to any Venetian lady: indeed a day of great rejoicing for the citizenry”.⁵¹⁰

There is other evidence that suggests Caterina retained a sovereign identity. The first, and maybe most noteworthy fact is that although upon her arrival she literally gave the doge the crown of Cyprus, she nevertheless kept the title of “queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia”. Certainly, she continued to style herself as a queen. For example, she wrote a letter on 19 August 1501 to the Council of Ten asking to give the knight Iacovos Podocatharos the dowry that her husband had promised him. The wording on the reverse side was “Ser[enissi]ma Regina Catherina Cypri co[m]mendat causam D[omini] Jacobi Podochatarpo Cipri”.⁵¹¹

Secondly, living in exile, Caterina did not have a poor or common life, which was another indirect sign that she retained her sovereign status. She kept her royal title and was also given another one, that of Lady of Asolo, along with her 8000 annual ducats pension she had received since 1495.⁵¹² As Bustron explained, “[S]hortly, Asolo was donated to her from the Council of Ten, which was a castle placed in the hills of Treviso, and giving her many thousands of ducats per year, that was enough for her to live amply, with the ladies of her retinue, having a noble court, always with celebrations having songs and sounds, with the intervention of virtuous people”.⁵¹³ In this way, Caterina kept her royal title and as an exiled queen was able to retain a retinue.

Thirdly, in October 1489 she was formally received in Asolo⁵¹⁴ and there she had her own functioning court,⁵¹⁵ although smaller than the one she maintained in Cyprus. The Asolo court comprised eighty people who had also

⁵¹⁰ Bembo, *History I*, p.49.

⁵¹¹ Αριστείδου, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, pp.254-255.

⁵¹² Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre III*, pp.425-427; Skoufari, *Cipro Veneziana*, p.53; Benzoni, “Cipro e Venezia”, 70; Arbel, “Reign of Caterina”, 81-82.

⁵¹³ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.458: “Poco da poi, li fu, da signori dieci, donato Asolo, castello ne colli di Trevizzi posto, et ordinatogli tanta migliara de ducati all'anno che li bastorono a far la vita sua ampiamente, con le sue damigelle, tenendo corte signorile, sempre con feste de canti e soni, con intervenimento d'huomini virtuosi”.

⁵¹⁴ Colbertaldo, “Historia”, pp.145-146.

⁵¹⁵ Collmer, “Three women of Asolo”, 156.

served her in Cyprus,⁵¹⁶ and included ladies, chambermaids, courtiers and an African midget called Zavir, who was a jester of the court and the trainbearer.⁵¹⁷ There was a doctor, firstly, the German Giovanni Sigismondo and then Francesco Tiraboschi, the Venetian confessor, Fra Bonaventura di Minori Osservanti, and a steward, Antonio de' Parte (or de' Pasti).⁵¹⁸ Her household also included the secretary, poet and philosopher Francesco Timideo, known as Hurzio, the Cypriot chaplain and queen's personal priest, Davide Lamberti and two knights, Girolamo Bonetto from Padua and Alfonso de Martini from Bassano.⁵¹⁹ The court additionally included members from established families of Asolo (Bettis, Bevilacqua, Stefani and Liberali), members of families that were originally from the province of Asolo that had relocated to the city (Da Borso, Da Fietta, Fautari da Cornuda, Furlani da Castelcucco, Nosadini da Semonzo, Compagnoni da Paderno d'Asolo, Camosi dalla Pedemontana, Cecci da Pagnano, Ogniben da Crespano, Puppi da Cavaso and Razzolini da Fonte) and members of families originally from cities situated close to Asolo (Treviso, Padua, Feltre, Cumirano, Serravalle, Asola, Bergamo, Milan, Aviano, Venice, Trieste, Lugo, Ferrara, Brescia, Cividale and Val di Marino).⁵²⁰ Such was the pull of Caterina's court that she also attracted Venetian nobles who either moved to Asolo or had summer residences there. Most of them came from the extended family of the queen: Zens, Cornaros and Contarini.⁵²¹

Moreover, Caterina maintained several important friendships, not least with Isabella d' Este, marchioness of Mantua, Beatrice Sforza, Alvise Cappello and Paolo Cappello.⁵²² It should be added, though, that these friendships did not seem to have political importance, adding to an impression that she lacked political leadership skills, though we might note their potential symbolic importance. She had contacts in Venice as well. In 1502, Isabella d'Este visited Caterina with the duchess of Urbino, Elisabetta Gonzola, and according to a

⁵¹⁶ Luigi Comacchio, *Splendore di Asolo ai tempi della regina Cornaro* (Treviso, 1969), p.103; Luigi Comacchio, *Storia di Asolo*, Vol. 16: Il Barco della Regina Cornaro (Asolo, 1980), pp.18-22.

⁵¹⁷ Comacchio, *Splendore*, p.103.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.103-104.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.104-105.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.105.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁵²² Luciana Piovesan, "Caterina Cornaro, Signora di Asolo" in Teresa Marson and Luciana Piovesan, eds., *Il Barco di Altivole: Contributi per la Conoscenza* (Treviso, 2000), 86-87.

letter Isabella sent to her husband, “[w]e went to visit the queen of Cyprus, who is our neighbour and had sent us an invitation”.⁵²³ It is telling that Isabella d’Este used the royal designation for Caterina here, another sign she retained her royal identity.

Furthermore, Caterina hosted poets, painters and artists.⁵²⁴ These included her relative, the famous poet and writer, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547),⁵²⁵ the writer Luigi da Porto from Vicenza (1485-1529)⁵²⁶ and the Venetian poet, writer and politician Andrea Navagero (1483-1529).⁵²⁷ The painter, Giorgione from Castelfranco Veneto (1477-1510), visited Caterina both in Asolo and Venice.⁵²⁸ Collectively, the vibrancy of her court, its personnel and its ability to attract prominent cultural figures suggests, albeit indirectly, some markers of sovereignty. Certainly, her court bears comparison with other female princes in exile. For example, Marie de’ Medici (r. 1600-1610), the French queen mother of Henri (r.1610-1643), exiled to the Spanish Netherlands from 1632, maintained a court of more than two hundred people that included gentlemen, administrators, doctors, guards and servants.⁵²⁹ Marie de’ Medici’s court was larger than that of Caterina and it might be noted that a direct comparison between the two exiles is problematic because of the distance in terms of time and perhaps also the status, as Marie was the queen mother of the king of France Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643), while Caterina had no descendants after the death of her son King Jacques III. Nevertheless, Caterina’s example seems to fit into a typology of a queen in exile.

Caterina’s sovereign status might be gleaned also from the treatment she received beyond Asolo. In particular, one ceremony communicates Caterina’s royalty. Focusing on the cases of exiled queens, the significance of

⁵²³ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, pp.198-199.

⁵²⁴ Raffaele Roncato, “Un regno finisce, la dinastia continua: ‘Magnifica Madonna Chaterina Cornaro’, l’altra Caterina” in Evangelia Skoufari, ed., *La Serenissima a Cipro: Incontri di culture nel Cinquecento* (Rome, 2013), 155; Irene Zanini-Cordi, “Cornaro, Caterina (1454-1510)” in Diana Robin, Anne R. Larsen, and Carole Levin, eds., *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England* (Santa Barbara, California, 2007), 98-100.

⁵²⁵ Comacchio, *Splendore*, pp.119-122.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.124-125.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.122-124.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.127-130.

⁵²⁹ Toby Osborne, “Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems: French Exiles in the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years’ War”, *The Seventeenth Century*, XV No. 2”, (2000), 156.

ceremonial entries of exiles for marking their status can indeed be seen in a later example, that of Marie de' Medici. Following the Day of Dupes in November 1630, she left France for self-imposed exile, arriving in the Spanish Netherlands. In Brussels, she had a magnificent welcome with the participation of the local elites. She was welcomed formally by the Chevalier and Pensionary of the city, while the church bells that were only rung for royal visitors were sounded.⁵³⁰ Now, it is important to see if Caterina was formally received, if the visit was a performance of power, if significant conversations took place during that visit and if the material elements of the entry – notably clothing and the associated entertainments - could indirectly suggest that Caterina was received as a queen in exile and not as a former queen.

During the summer of 1497, Caterina went to Brescia to visit her brother Giorgio. Sanudo (1466 and 1536) wrote that Caterina had left Asolo accompanied by her ladies and patricians.

She departed from Asolo in a chariot in August, together with the ladies of her retinue and some other ladies of this land [...], and these patricians: the knight Giromamo Lion, the knight and brother-in-law Polo Capelo [married to Caterina's sister called Regina⁵³¹], the doctor, knight and also brother-in-law Marco Dandolo [married to Caterina's sister Violante⁵³²], Nicolò di Prioli and Piero Zen from Zermani, and her nephew Andrea Diedo, the majesty of Asolo, and others; all in horses [...] and in twelve chariots.⁵³³

Sanudo also wrote that she was formally received "In Dezanzen, on Lake Garda, in fact went the mayor Giorgio Cornaro with decent company".⁵³⁴ This information underscores the sense that Caterina was received formally and that she had not lost her queenly status. In Brescia, more than 1000 riders and horses and sixty-eight musicians participated in the celebration. Also, 104

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 149.

⁵³¹ Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.6.

⁵³² Ibid., p.58.

⁵³³ Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii. Edited by Visentini cav. Federico*, Vol. I (Venice, 1879), p.742: "Et si parti di Asolo in careta a di [...] avosto, insieme con le sue donzele et alcune done di questa terra le qual saranno nominate di soto, et questi patricii: Giromamo Lion cavalier, Polo Capelo cavalier suo cugnato, Marco Dandolo doctor et cabalier etiam olim suo cugnato, Nicolò di Prioli et Piero Zen soi zermani, et Andrea Diedo suo nepote et che tinc era sia majestà di Asolo, et altri; in tutto cavalli [...] et carete 12".

⁵³⁴ Ibid., p.741: "Al Dezanzen, ch'è sul lago di Garda, anderà esso Zorzi Corner podestà con decente compagnia".

clericals and 300 monks were present as well, while fifty-two medical doctors attended the event.⁵³⁵ This was evidently a magnificent ceremonial occasion.

The entry into Brescia took place on August 4 with carpets laid on the streets of the city to Palazzo Martinegro,⁵³⁶ a feature that displayed the magnificence of the event. Colbertaldo wrote that:

Not much time passed and the leader of Brescia, Giorgio Cornelio [Cornaro], entering his praetorship, he invited his sister to come and find him, adornments were placed on the way, where perhaps twenty miles away, they were met by 200 horses guided by Luigi Avogadro from Brescia and he brought her to the headquarters of the praetorship. The following Sunday, a very beautiful joust took place, with a triumphal chariot, in the queen's honour and the queen was very satisfied. As she also wanted to see Lake Garda, there were organised fishing trips using hooks and nets, and not only that place, but also in the charming coasts of [Lake] Idro and [Ponte] Caffaro. Following two months, returning by Verona accompanied by her brother, also in Valleggio sul Mincio, she met and was reverently received by twelve gentlemen.⁵³⁷

Sanudo provided more details of the visits, writing that "[t]he next day that Caterina entered in that land [Brescia] a musical celebration was organised, then a speech was made by the lord and doctor Joanne Baptista d'Apian, [and] the community gave a present to the queen of royal standards".⁵³⁸ Evidently, Caterina was formally received by her brother and mayor of Brescia, along with various important people who attended the event. Various Venetians travelled to attend this magnificent event too, further confirmation that Caterina was honoured during that trip. As Sanudo wrote,

In Lonado was the mayor's wife with many ladies. In the Ponte of San Marco forty young citizens on horseback, dressed in razed red zuponi [type of jackets] and crimson satin over-garments, with one servant each,

⁵³⁵ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, pp.166-167.

⁵³⁶ Attilio Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro e il suo regno* (Venezia, 1892), pp.125-126; Mullaly, "'Domina' of Asolo", 168.

⁵³⁷ Colbertaldo, "Historia", 162: "Né gran tempo trascorse che creato podestà di Brescia Giorgio Cornelio, et alla sua pretura intrato, invitando la sorella a venir a trovarlo, adornamente si pose in camino, ove forse a vinti miglia lontano li vennero incontro da duecento cavalli guidati da Luigi Avogadro bresciano et alla stanza pretoria la condusse. La domenica poi seguente si fecero una bellissima giostra con un carro trionfale in honore della Regina a tal che ne restò molto soddisfata di quei cittadini. Volendo anco vedere il lago di Garda, facendo sollazzeVoli pescagioni con ami et reti, nè solo in quello, ma anco nelle delitiose riviere d'Idro e di Caffaro. Nel fine di due mesi, facendo il ritorno per Verona accompagnata dal fratello, gionta a Valleggio fu da dodeci genithuomeni incontrata et riverentemente accolta".

⁵³⁸ Sanudo, *Diarii I*, 742: "Et il zorno sequente che soa majestà sarà intrata in la terra, si farà un ricerchar di festa, poi una oration per domino Joanne Baptista d'Apian doctor, e compita, la comunità li farà un presente a la regina de rebus mangiativis (sic)".

with stockings having the queen's emblem. Beginning the edge of the countryside on beyond Rezà [Cascina Rezzata], the count of Petigliano presented himself, staying in Gedi, with three squadrons of armed people and one with horseback archers. In Rezado, Captain Francesco Mocenigo presented himself with a good company; then, in Santa Fumia [a zone of Brescia called Sant' Eufemia della Fonte] the captain's wife with more than sixty women on horseback, arrived to greet the said queen. At the gate of Brescia an umbrella was prepared, with white damask canopy, brought by eight doctors and under that she will be conducted. In Brescia she stayed in Lodovico da Martinegro's house, that was of our General Captain Bortholamio Coglion, and in the door from there until the gate of the city, all the streets were covered in raiments. In the entrance will be a triumphal and very beautiful chariot, adorned with sprites, which cost more that a hundred ducats.⁵³⁹

The level of magnificence suggests that in the eyes of some contemporaries she remained a queen.

Furthermore, she was formally accepted as a queen in other places where she stopped. Sanudo explained that

She had been to Bassano, where she was welcomed with honours by Piero Lando, mayor and captain; then in Vicenza, she was even more honoured by the mayor Piero Capelo and the captain Zuam Bernado, and she stayed in the house of Zuam da Porto. Then, she entered Verona, where she was very honoured by command of our signory, by the mayor Lunardo Mocenigo and the captain of Verona Nicolò Foscari. She stayed in the bishop's residence. And in Vicenza and Verona she was given presents by the community, and she had an honorific stay.⁵⁴⁰

Although this trip had no ostensible political elements, as no important conversations seemed to take place, the fact that Caterina was received as a queen might itself be taken as a signifier of a set of political messages. The event commanded a degree of sovereign recognition of Caterina as an exiled

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 741-742: "A Lonado serà la podestressa con molte done. Al Ponte di San Marco 40 zoveni citadini a cavalo vestidi de zuponi rasi cremesinie say di raso paonazo, con uno famejo per uno, con calce a la divisa di la regina. Al principio di la campagna di la da Rezà, se dia apresenter el conte di Petigliano aloza a Gedi, con tre squadre di zente d'arme et una di balestrieri a cavalo. A Rezado se apresenterà Francesco Mocenigo capitano con bella compagnia; poi a Santa Fumia la capetania con più di 60 done a cavalo, per aceptar la majestà predicta. A la porta di Breza, sarà preparato una ombrella, over baldachin damaschin bianco, portata da octo doctori, e soto sarà conducta. Dia Alozar in Brexa ne la caxa di Lodovico da Martinegro, che fo di Bortholamio Coglion capitano zeneral nostro e da la porta di la dita fino a la porta di la terra, tute le strade sarano coperte de panni. A la porta sarà un caro triumfal bellissimo, ornato de spiritelli, el qual costa più di ducati cento".

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 742: "Andoe a Bassam, et fo horonata da Piero Lando podestà et capitano; demum a Vicenza, et più honorata da Piero Capelo podestà et Zuam Bernado capitano, alozoe in caxa di Zuam da Porto. Poi introe a Verona, etiam molto horonata, di comandamento perhò di la Signoria nostra, da Lunardo Mocenigo podestà et Nicolò Foscari capitano di Verona. Alozoe nel vescovado. Et a Vicenza et Verona li fo fato presenti per la comunità, et preparato honorifice la stantia".

queen, as Caterina and the members of her retinue were received formally, important personalities attended the event and festivities were organised for her. This fact bears comparison, as argued in Chapter 1, with Charlotte's experiences as a queen in exile, as she too had been formally received as a queen in various Italian cities, principally Rome. Also, the trip to Brescia fits into the broader typology of pre-modern rulers in exile.

Hence, restating the evidence suggesting Caterina had not lost her identity as a queen: she kept the royal title until death; she had a retinue; a court; and socially and politically prominent friends; and also, she was formally received as a queen in Venice, Asolo, Brescia and those places en route to Brescia. However, in spite of the fact that she can be called a queen in exile, it should also be underlined that she lacked any substantial or autonomous power. For example, "she could not harbour criminals or increase the burden of peasants",⁵⁴¹ she lacked the authority to mint coins, she could not undertake independent political initiatives without the permission of Venice, she could not raise taxes, she was not permitted to use her power to process benefits against the wealth of the place, and she was prohibited from giving hospitality to any person banished by the republic. Besides, she was under constant supervision, and had little freedom to manoeuvre.⁵⁴² Despite the last political restrictions, there is nevertheless some evidence that she did exercise some limited power in Asolo. She introduced new proceedings relating to the administration of justice and the possession of land and she proposed fiscal reforms.⁵⁴³ She also undertook charitable projects, encompassing the foundation in Asolo of a Monte di Pietà and the importation of grain, in 1505, from the island of Cyprus to share it out to the citizens who were suffering from famine.⁵⁴⁴

On 1 May 1508, Caterina composed her will, ⁵⁴⁵ leaving all her possessions to her brother, Giorgio (Appendix 6). She bequeathed to Giorgio not only her Venetian possessions, but those outside the city too. However, as

⁵⁴¹ Hurlburt, *Daughter of Venice*, p.126.

⁵⁴² Piovesan, "Signora", 82-85.

⁵⁴³ Mullaly, "'Domina' of Asolo", 159.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 157-159.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 185-186; Campolieti, *Caterina*, p.200; Comacchio, *Splendore*, pp.114-115; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, p.752.

explained, she was not allowed to bequeath Asolo, which was returned to the republic,⁵⁴⁶ another sign that she did not exercise tangible rulership over Asolo. The last years of her life were spent in Venice, in San Cassiano Palace, where she died on 10 July 1510, aged 54.⁵⁴⁷ Her body was transferred by boat through the Grand Canal from the palace to the church of Santi Apostoli, where the Cornaro family chapel was located and where her father, Marco, and the fourteenth-century-doge Marco Cornaro were interred.⁵⁴⁸ Sanudo wrote that the brothers-in-law of Giorgio Cornaro and procurators Batista Morexini and Alvise Malipiero with the lawyer, Nicolò Dolfim, went to the Signoria (the ducal palace) to announce that Caterina, the queen of Cyprus and sister of the illustrious Giorgio Cornaro, had passed away:

at ten in the morning inside the College [...] Sir Batista Morexini and Sir Alvise Malipiero, brother-in-law of Sir Giorgio Cornaro and cavalier procurator, and Sir Nicolò Dolfim, advocate arrived, all with mantles, to announce that during that night at 4 o'clock the most serene queen of Cyprus passed away, sister of the aforesaid Sir Giorgio, at the age of 54, after being ill for three days, she died of a stomach illness.⁵⁴⁹

More relevantly for us, even at the moment of death, Caterina was called queen of Cyprus. The doge Leonardo Loredan, too, called her “Serenissima Regina di Cipri”.⁵⁵⁰ In this regard, she was like Charlotte and other exile rulers from later periods such as James Stuart, known as “the king over the water”, discussed in Chapter 1.

The funeral itself had a magnificence that also served to demonstrate Caterina’s royal credentials, even in death. According to Sanudo,

The same night the body would be moved to the Church of Santi Apostoli, where the chapel of her family was, but before she was placed temporarily

⁵⁴⁶ Gullino, “Caterina: vicende”, 31.

⁵⁴⁷ Rosada, *Donne veneziane*, p.42; Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii. Edited by Visentini cav. Federico*, Vol. X (Venice, 1883), p.744; Umberto Franzoi, “The Seduction of being a Queen” in Marina Vryonidou and Loukia Hadjigaviel, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: the last Queen of Cyprus 1473-1489* (Nicosia, 1995), 26-28.

⁵⁴⁸ Sanudo, *Diarii X*, p.750; Luigi Carrer, *Anello di Sette Gemme o Venezia e la sua Storia, considerazioni e fantasie* (Venice, 1838), p.224.

⁵⁴⁹ Sanudo, *Diarii X*, p.744: “A di 10 in Colegio la matina [...] veneno sier Batista Morexini e sier Alvise Malipiero, cugnadi di sier Zorzi Corner, et cavalier procurator, et sier Nicolò Dolfim, l'avogador, tutti con mantelli a notificar in questa note a hore 4 esser manchata la Serenissima rayna di Cipri, sorela dil prefato sier Zorzi di anni 54, stata amalata zorni 3, morta da doja do stomecho per esser crepata, etc”.

⁵⁵⁰ AMA LR, 89-90.

in a casket in the church of San Cassiano and the distressed members of the Signoria [the supreme body of the Venetian Government] went there and went up to the Rialto Bridge, then to Santa Sofia and then accompanied the casket until the church of Santi Apostoli, and were thus ordered to go, and all the senators were admonished, and invited to come to these obsequies, the epicedium would be said by recited patriarch and other bishops would attend.⁵⁵¹

Bembo added that “[H]er eulogy was given by [the historian, poet and diplomat⁵⁵²] Andrea Navagero. And in the church of Santi Apostoli her brother, Giorgio Corner, Procurator of St. Mark’s, later saw to the construction of a chapel with a marble sepulchre for the sister who had deserved so well of him”.⁵⁵³

Tellingly, the crown of Cyprus was placed on top of her coffin.⁵⁵⁴ It is very unfortunate that Navagero’s funeral oration has not survived; before his death he gave an order to burn all his works as he considered them as imperfect, including the speech. That may well have added further insights into Caterina’s ascribed status.⁵⁵⁵ As for her body, after 1524 as the Cornaro family wished, it was moved from the Cornaro chapel and taken to the church of San Salvador.⁵⁵⁶ Caterina’s tomb, as with Charlotte’s tomb, tellingly includes her full title: “Catharinæ Corneliae Cypri. Hierosolymorum ac Armeniæ Reginæ Cineres”.⁵⁵⁷ The presentation and analysis of this tomb is included in Chapter 6 of this thesis as part of the iconography of the queen after her death.

In short, it can be said that Caterina died as a queen. She was officially welcomed in Venice, Asolo, Brescia, Bassano, Vicenza and Verona. Also, she

⁵⁵¹ Sanudo, *Diarii X*, 750: “Da poi disnar, fo pregadi, non vene il principe, et sier Batista Morexini et sier Alvise Malipiero, cugnadi di sier Zorzi Corner, procurator, fradelo di la quondam rayna di Cypri vene a invidar la Signoria per l’obito di la raina per venere da matina a di 16, videlicet questa note il corpo sarà sepolto a Santo Apostolo dove è la sua capella de li soi, in deposito e sarà messo una cassa in chiesa di San Cassan, et la Signoria anderà con li piati lì e si farà un ponte a Rialto vadi a Santa Sofia et poi accompagnerà la cassa fino a la ditta chiesa di Santo Apostolo, et cussí fo ordinato andarvi, et admoniti tutti di pregadi e invidadì a venir a queste exequie, fo mandato a dir al reverendissimo patriarcha e altri episcopi venisseno”.

⁵⁵² Comacchio, *Splendore*, p.116; Carrer, *Anello*, p.224.

⁵⁵³ Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice*, Edited by Robert W. Ulery, Vol III (London, 2009), p.131.

⁵⁵⁴ Hare, *Illustrious Ladies*, p.202.

⁵⁵⁵ Luigi Comacchio, *Storia di Asolo*, Vol. 17: *La Regina Cornaro*, (Asolo, 1981), p.32.

⁵⁵⁶ Rosada, *Donne veneziane*, pp.42-43; Giandomenico Romanelli, “Caterina and the Arts” in Marina Vryonidou and Loukia Hadjigaviel, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: the last Queen of Cyprus 1473-1489* (Nicosia, 1995), 49-51.

⁵⁵⁷ Martin Gaier, “Falconetto-Palladio-Contin. Tentativi di erigere un monumento alla regina nella Repubblica di Venezia” in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 105.

was continually referred to as queen and she styled herself with her royal title, as well as the new honorific title “Lady of Asolo” that was given to her upon her return. During her time at Asolo, she lived with at least some attributes of a ruling sovereign, although there were restrictions; she had a functioning court that retained at least some kind of international profile. Finally, even in death she kept her sovereign status, her royal crown and the royal title, confirming she died as a queen.

Based on the facts aforementioned, it is difficult to argue if Caterina in exile was queen regnant or queen regent, since the information about this is only indirect. Reading Caterina’s 1508 testament and looking at her 1524 tomb, neither her husband or sons’ names are mentioned. It is written “[C]aterina de Lussignano per la Dio gracia, regina de Jerusalem, Cipri et Armeniæ” and “[C]atharinæ Corneliæ Cypri. Hierosolymorum ac Armeniæ Reginæ Cineres” accordingly. Also, in 1502, after Isabella d’Este had visited Caterina, Isabella sent a letter to her husband, writing that she “[w]ent to visit the queen of Cyprus” and again Jacques’ name is not mentioned. However, as it will be explored in the third part of the thesis, many portraits depict her as a dowager queen in exile linking her with King Jacques II and her position as queen regent. All the four paintings of her, which were created when she was in exile, depict her as a dowager queen. The most important is the Treviso painting (Fig.6) as it was Caterina’s present in a wedding celebration to a lady of her court. Indirectly, this can mean that this was an image of her she approved and she wanted people to remember her like this.

* * *

Standing back from this detail, in conclusion, it can be suggested that during the period in which Caterina was in Cyprus (1472-1489) as wife of king Jacques II, as queen mother of Jacques III and as a sole ruler, she did not govern independently, as we might have expected from a successful sovereign regnant ruler being supported by Venetian authorities. Instead, the Venetians were the ones governing in her name for years until she donated her crown, in 1489, and lived in voluntary external exile. Comparing her case to that of Charlotte, there

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are evident similarities: they were the first two, and only, queens regnant of Cyprus and can be added to a small number of the fifteenth-century queens regnant. Both ruled at a very young age and under difficult circumstances, in a male-dominated world, in a region (eastern Mediterranean), itself-dominated by non-Christians. Queens regnant presented significant challenges for Cyprus and the major powers with interests in the island and in the eastern Mediterranean more generally. In themselves, none of these challenges weakened Charlotte and Caterina in their will to remain ruling queens, and it was others who forced them to depart (Jacques II and Sultan of Egypt for Charlotte and the Venetian authorities for Caterina). Even then, both Charlotte and Caterina - although women - tried to protect themselves by gaining new allies. Charlotte gained financial and military support and also organised a mission to return as a queen in Cyprus. Caterina was a *de facto* queen, with no ruling skills, who remained a ruling queen from 1473 until 1489. In spite of the fact that the Venetian authorities had decided to incorporate Cyprus in 1487, Caterina departed two years later with evidence of her trying to go to Rhodes and negotiate a new wedding, this time with the son of the king of Naples. For us, these serve as collective signs of resistance from the two against men who sought to decide their fates.

Charlotte and Caterina became queens in exile, following patterns evident in the experiences of other exiled rulers. In fact, they did not lose their royal titles either in exile or in death retaining marks of sovereign recognition. Charlotte was welcomed as the legitimate queen of Cyprus in Rhodes, Rome, Savoy, Florence, Bologna and even Venice; she was accommodated as queen in exile by Pope Pius II and Pope Sixtus IV and she had the king Ferdinando of Naples as an ally. What is more, in 1478 she was offered a refuge in Venetian territory and received an annual pension, suggesting that Venice was concerned by the exiled *de jure* queen regnant Charlotte's efforts to retake her kingdom from the *de facto* queen Caterina. As for Caterina, although the Venetian authorities had decided to incorporate Cyprus and remove her from her throne, they were happy to concede the honour of retaining her royal title in exile. Caterina retained a functioning court and received visitors who recognised her as a queen, in effect generating its own performative energy of queenship.

Everywhere she went, such as Venice, Asolo and Brescia, she was formally and ceremonially received and honoured. However, despite retaining some of the marks of sovereign recognition, she had no evident wish to return to Cyprus, in stark contrast to Charlotte. In Asolo, in spite of the fact that she kept her sovereign status, she was politically isolated and did not exercise tangible political power. Although she came from a rich family and she also received from Venice an annual pension, and therefore a suitable amount of money to maintain a functioning court system, she could not undertake independent political initiatives without Venice's permission, she lacked the authority to mint coins, she could not raise taxes, she was not permitted to use her power to process benefits against the wealth of the place and she was prohibited from giving hospitality to any person banished by the republic. Besides, she was constantly watched and had little freedom to manoeuvre.⁵⁵⁸ The Venetian authorities wanted her politically isolated, probably to ensure that she would not find support and allies to return as a queen regnant in Cyprus. Ultimately, as we know, this strategy was succeeded, as Caterina died in exile, like Charlotte. Both the queens donated their kingdoms, Charlotte to Savoy, in 1485, and Caterina to Venice in 1489. The two states would claim, at a future date, the royal titles for themselves. The impact of the two queens remained for hundreds of years as we will see in the next section.

⁵⁵⁸ Piovesan, "Signora", 82-85.

Part II

The Crown of Cyprus between Venice and Savoy

Chapter 3

The House of Savoy, the Venetian Republic and the Crown of Cyprus between 1485 and 1630

In Part I, the focus was on Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro, first as ruling queens of Cyprus and then as exiles; Charlotte against her will, and Caterina after she had passed her crown to Venice. Part II shifts the focus away from the two queens directly, concentrating instead on the competition between Savoy and Venice over Cyprus from 1485, when Charlotte passed her royal rights to Savoy and 1489, when Caterina departed from Cyprus and Venice started controlling the island, until the fall of Venice in 1797 and the Italian Unification in 1870. At least until the late sixteenth century, possession of the island was the primary focus, and not its royal title. However, from the late sixteenth and especially from the seventeenth century, because of various circumstances that will be discussed in this section, the royal title became the principal source of contention in a context where there was intense international competition for status, even in areas where rulers did not in reality actually possess the lands associated with titles. The stories of the two queens remained alive for centuries via this long “battle” and this chapter examines what aspects of their lives and queenships were remembered, and how their

identities were shaped by Savoy and Venice for their own benefit as part of their competitive strategies. Part III explores in parallel the images and iconographies of the two queens from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century in Cypriot and Italian sources including biographies, literature, poems, operas and portraiture. Focusing on the long-term evolution of the images of the two queens the section explores how the images of the two queens changed posthumously, and how the political circumstances presented in Part II affected those images and iconographies. In this way, the three parts of this thesis are strictly connected as they are presenting the two queens in parallel; Part I focuses on the histories of Caterina and Charlotte, Part II presents their identities in politics, and Part III explores their images in literature and art.

In terms of Part II, it should be explained at this early point that the competition between Savoy and Venice over Cyprus's royal title led to wider conflicts over ceremonial competition. Kingdoms and duchies had specific hierarchical places; some were higher ranked not only because of their power, but also historical tradition.⁵⁵⁹ From the late fifteenth century, the ceremonial world was not open to everyone as "only accredited diplomats, dispatched by sovereign powers, could participate" and the attendants had positions according to the hierarchy.⁵⁶⁰ For example, diplomatic ceremonies in Rome were "in the service of power" having a ceremonial context with symbolic meanings, by which princes could "display their power and assert their precedence". Participation or non-participation, in these ceremonies required careful consideration.⁵⁶¹

Pope Julius II (1503-1513) issued in 1504 the *Ordo Regum*, alongside the *Ordo Ducum* in order to provide political balance between sovereign powers.⁵⁶² According to this rank, first in the hierarchy was the emperor and king of the Romans. Underneath them were placed "the kings of France, Spain

⁵⁵⁹ William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach" in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.52, No.3 (1980), 460.

⁵⁶⁰ Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge, 2015), p.60.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.59-60.

⁵⁶² Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Il Cerimoniale come Linguaggio Politico. Su Alcuni Conflitti di Precedenza alla Corte di Roma tra Cinquecento e Seicento" in M.A. Visceglia and C. Brice, eds., *Cérémonial et Rituel à Rome (XVI^e-XIX^e Siècle)* (Rome, 1997), 126.

(Castile), Aragon, Portugal, England, Sicily, Scotland and Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark". The dukes followed, and Venice was included.⁵⁶³ While the 1504 ranking retained its importance, wider circumstances, nevertheless, changed as some states lost their independence while rulers claimed new degrees of sovereignty; the situation became complicated. Thus, a number of treaties were published to promote particular status claims, even though these treaties specified that "the formal titles claimed by various princes in a document did not prejudice the claims of other princes to the same title".⁵⁶⁴

From the sixteenth century, issues of diplomatic precedence became increasingly important,⁵⁶⁵ to say the least, and was perceived in formal princely entries and the ceremonials of coronation.⁵⁶⁶ In an increasingly competitive international arena, Rome was especially important as a venue for status competition, expressed not tenuously during the entries of ambassadors into the city. The welcoming point of the diplomats was out of the walls and varied according to the rank of sovereignty. Greetings were organised from the welcoming point to the gate of Rome. Thus, for the highest-ranking-diplomatic entries, the point was further away from the gate. The diplomats that were welcomed at the most distant point were those of the Emperor, in San Lorenzo.⁵⁶⁷

The world of ceremony and titles enabled states to show their greatness, to express and fight for political power and to demonstrate or even strengthen the legitimacy and dignity as well as gain access for its diplomats to participate in the courts of other states.⁵⁶⁸ Thus, focusing on the Savoyard-Venetian "battle" over the royal crown of Cyprus, it should indeed be stressed that Savoy was not unique in using a royal title without having possession of the land. Even

⁵⁶³ Roosen, "Ceremonial", 460-461.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 460-461.

⁵⁶⁵ Toby Osborne and Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Introduction: Diplomacy and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World" in *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol.20, Issue 4 (2016), 315.

⁵⁶⁶ Irene Fosi "Court and City in the Ceremony of the Possesso" in Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Court and Politics in Papal Rome: 1492-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 33-34.

⁵⁶⁷ Fletcher, *Rome*, pp.125-127.

⁵⁶⁸ Roosen, "Ceremonial", 453,473-475.

the old Lusignan kings of Cyprus used the royal titles of Armenia and Jerusalem, without their possession. Similarly, the pope used the royal title of the kingdom of Jerusalem too;⁵⁶⁹ the king of England claimed to be the king of France without controlling France;⁵⁷⁰ the king of Spain claimed to be king of Sicily and king of Jerusalem;⁵⁷¹ the king of Poland was called titular king of Sweden and grand-duke of Muscovy, and he also used the royal title of Jerusalem;⁵⁷² the king of Naples used the royal title of Jerusalem;⁵⁷³ and the king of Hungary was styled as duke of Burgundy.⁵⁷⁴ Also, after 1261, the Frankish emperors of Constantinople still used the title of *Imperator Romanae*. The last Latin emperor was Baldwin II (r.1228-1261); he lived until 1273 as emperor in exile and his title passed to his heirs. The first titular emperor was Philip of Courtenay (1243-1283). His daughter and legal heir Catherine de Courtenay (1274-1307) married Charles of Valois (1270-1325), brother of Louis, king of France (1263/4-1276).⁵⁷⁵ Similar stories can be told of ducal rulers.⁵⁷⁶ The duke of Savoy was not alone in using titles without possession of the land. For example, the duke of Anjou, Louis (1339-1384), and his descendants were called kings of Aragon, Mallorca and Sardinia,⁵⁷⁷ while the duke of Lorraine used the title of duke of Calabria.⁵⁷⁸

Before moving to the specifics of the claims of the royal title of Cyprus and the tensions between Venice and Savoy, some genealogical context is necessary. Savoy enjoyed the title of counts of Savoy from 998,⁵⁷⁹ and had a ducal title from 1416.⁵⁸⁰ In 1485, the opportunity arose for it to obtain royal

⁵⁶⁹ Pierre Monod, *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Principe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri* (Turin, 1633), p.43.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.43; ASV CJ, 66, unpaginated.

⁵⁷¹ ASV CJ, No 66.

⁵⁷² Monod, *Trattato*, p.43.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.43 ; Kenneth M., Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. I. The Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Centuries (Philadelphia, 1976), pp.495-596.

⁵⁷⁶ Roosen, "Ceremonial", 457.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵⁷⁹ Vittorio Spreti, ed., *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana: Famiglie nobili e titolate viventi riconosciute dal R. Governo d'Italia. Compresi: città, comunità, mense vescovili, abazie, parrocchie ed anti nobili e titolati riconosciuti*, Vol. I (Milan, 1928), 205-206, 223.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 225.

status when Charlotte officially bequeathed her kingdom to Savoy as discussed in Chapter 1 and Appendix 4. However, there is an absence of any positive evidence that Duke Carlo I seized the opportunity, and still failed to do so when Charlotte died two years later. Part II considers why the dukes of Savoy did not use the royal title at the first opportunity, from the late fifteenth century, but instead officially claimed their royal rights from Venice only in the seventeenth century. In doing so, this section examines how Savoy used the Cypriot royal crown until the Italian Unification in the nineteenth century, and how they benefited from its utilisation.

On the other hand, Venice had evolved between the fifth and the seventh century, and its first doge was elected in 697.⁵⁸¹ As the head of Venice,⁵⁸² the doge was supposed to represent “[t]he glory, gravity and dignity of a king: the rest of the citizens do bear him honour and reverence as unto a king and all decrees, laws, and public letters go forth under his name”.⁵⁸³ By the fifteenth century, Venice had established itself as a powerful state with various colonies⁵⁸⁴ and as we have seen between 1489 and 1571, it had control of Cyprus. Whether Venice used the royal title of Cyprus in the years 1489-1571, when it controlled the island, will be explained. Also, from this period, to the seventeenth century, the Venetian authorities sought to protect their royal rights from Savoyard claims and at the same time, promote their royal rights to secure what they increasingly felt was Venice’s status amongst the leading powers of Italy and indeed of Europe.

This section is divided into two chapters. Chapter 3 focuses on the years 1489 to 1630, the period before Savoy and Duke Vittorio Amedeo I (r. 1630-1637) began publicly staking an official claim to the royal title. In this period, Savoy never officially claimed its royal rights from Venice, although it will be argued that in the period 1571 to 1630, Savoy was preparing a claim to the

⁵⁸¹ Andrea Fasolo, *Palazzi di Venezia* (Verona, 2009), 7-8.

⁵⁸² Robert Finlay, “Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice: the election of Doge Andrea Gritti”, *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. II (1978), 97.

⁵⁸³ Gasper Contareno, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, translated by Lewes Lewkenor, [Facsimile reprint of original: London, pr by John Windet for Edmund Mattes, 1599] (New York, 1969), p.18.

⁵⁸⁴ Michael C. Howard, *Transnationalism in Ancient and Medieval societies: The Role of Cross-Border Trade and Travel* (Jefferson-North Carolina, 2012), p.148.

royal title. In the early seventeenth century, precedence was now “of central importance to international relations” as established dynasties were claiming higher titles than the ones they used to have to maintain status differentials over newer or increasingly powerful sovereign powers, such as the Dutch republic.⁵⁸⁵ Chapter 4 starts with 1630, a landmark year in the “battle” between Venice and Savoy over their royal claims, after Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-1644) ruled that all cardinals, except those of imperial or royal blood, should only have the title “*eminentissimo*” and no longer the title “*illustrissimo*” as they used to have.⁵⁸⁶ In the same year, Venice started using a closed crown in the dogal coat of arms, whilst in 1633, Savoy claimed the crown of Cyprus.⁵⁸⁷ Chapter 4 also deals with the years that Savoy finally claimed its royal rights and the subsequent long “battle” with Venice, which lasted until the end of the eighteenth century, when, in 1797, Venice fell. Before that, Venice was gradually losing its power and prestige, while Savoy was becoming politically stronger; ultimately, as is well-known, the dukes of Savoy became kings of Italy, even though this had not necessarily been a long-term strategy as such.

Chapter 3 is divided in two parts, the first one encompassing the period of Venetian control of Cyprus, from 1489 until they lost it in 1571. During these years, Savoy, having *de facto* pre-eminence amongst Italian states, including Venice, and being ceremonially recognised as kings of Cyprus at the coronation of Emperor Charles V in Bologna in 1530, did not actively seek the royal title of Cyprus. This could be explained by the fact that by that time, what was of major importance was the possession of a kingdom, not necessarily the ceremonial use of its royal title. In the second part of the chapter, the focus shifts to the years after the loss of Cyprus, until 1630, when Duke Carlo Emanuele died. It was a period of time that Savoy started rethinking their royal rights relating to Cyprus. However, Savoy never officially claimed those rights from Venice. This

⁵⁸⁵ Roosen, “Ceremonial”, 461.

⁵⁸⁶ Elisa Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio. I Savoia e la corona di Cipro” in Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’ Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997), 62.

⁵⁸⁷ Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Books 1-2 (Lyon, 1660), p.896; Gustavo Mola di Nomaglio, “I Savoia e il regno di Cipro. Dispute e relazioni diplomatiche per conquistare il titolo regio” Caria, Francesco de and Taverna, Donatella, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997), 47.

was something that would happen with the next duke, Vittorio Amedeo I, and will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, it has to be made clear from the outset that although Savoy's strategy did not entail a formal claim to Cyprus, Venice did not demand it either. In fact, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the republic never used the royal title of Cyprus in official documents, although it possessed Cyprus - what mattered in practice for the republic was that it had the island under its control. Ceremonial culture, and a culture of representation, in relation to the royal claim, became considerably more important across the period for both Savoy and Venice.

Chapter 3 is grounded principally on archival work from the archive of Turin; the sources used are *Materie politiche-Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia* and *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro*. This material is uniquely related to Savoy's official state claims to the royal title of Cyprus. It clearly shows Savoy's intentions, demands, strategy and political games, as well as how individual dukes of Savoy responded to the issue and how this consequently shaped relations with Venice. From the Archive of Venice, the *Consultori in Jure* is used, highlighting Venice's governmental intentions, strategies, demands and political games. Moreover, other primary sources are used, mainly the 1594 anonymous source *Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Giacomo Lusignano*. Two modern sources with collections of primary material are the 1901 source of Arturo Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e la Repubblica di Venezia (1545-1580)* and Luigi Firpo's edition of the *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Volume XI, Savoia (1496-1797), which include various *relazioni* of Venetian ambassadors in Savoy. These primary sources encompass relevant political, administrative and diplomatic information providing details about the argument between Savoy and Venice, and reflect the political controversies between the two states, as well as their governmental strategies across a long period of time.

1489-1571: The royal title of Cyprus during the Venetian occupation

The first part of the chapter starts from the late fifteenth century. This part principally focuses on the years 1489 to 1571, after Caterina Cornaro left the island of Cyprus, which was under Venetian control for almost a century, until the Ottomans captured Cyprus and the Venetians lost possession of the island forever. However, the purpose is not to describe the way Venetians ruled Cyprus, and the ways they benefitted from controlling the island. The main aim is to identify if the royal title of Cyprus itself, was vital for Venice or whether they were merely satisfied with the possession of the island. At the same time, the chapter examines Savoy's interests, and whether the six dukes of Savoy during this period, Carlo I, Carlo II (r. 1490-1496), Filippo II (r. 1496-1497), Filiberto II (r. 1497-1504), Carlo III (r. 1504-1553) and Emanuele Filiberto, pursued strategies to benefit from the royal title, and if so, what they wanted to achieve. In general, it should be borne in mind that until Carlo III's reign, Savoy faced a long crisis of occupation by foreign troops, with Savoy and Turin largely under French control, while Piedmont was under Spanish control.⁵⁸⁸ Accordingly, as will be seen, Cyprus and its royal title were not a priority for Savoy.

In 1485, Charlotte bequeathed her royal rights to Savoy with an agreement signed in Rome, on 25 February, with Duke Carlo I of Savoy (Appendix 4). Charlotte died in 1487 and Savoy was the only beneficiary of Charlotte's will, providing Savoy with a great opportunity to obtain royal status. However, there is a complete absence of any positive evidence that Duke Carlo I used this title, at this time at least; it seems that the royal title was not a strategic priority for Savoy. But, although the Savoyard duke did not seem to "fight" for his royal recognition, the fact that his sovereign status was recognised by Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484-1492), is nevertheless significant. On 21 July 1487, the pope wrote a letter to Carlo I, duke of Savoy, informing him of Charlotte's death (Appendix 3), a source already discussed in Chapter 1. In fact, the pope presented the duke of Savoy as a relative of the queen who had

⁵⁸⁸ Gianni Oliva, *I Savoia: Novecento anni di una dinastia* (Milan, 1998), p.147.

died after a long exile [Carola Regina Cipri consanguine a tua post diuturnu exilium].⁵⁸⁹ By mentioning that the duke had a close relation to Charlotte, the pope was underlining in 1487 the blood line between the Lusignan kings of Cyprus and the Savoyard dukes, something that the dukes of Savoy would claim officially later on, as analysed in Chapter 4.

Although Carlo I seemed determined to do anything for his sovereign status, he accepted the title of king of Cyprus in 1488, accepting also Charlotte's donation.⁵⁹⁰ On 18 August 1488, he sent a letter to the sultan of Egypt - Cyprus's feudal overlord - making clear that Charlotte and Louis were the only official rulers of Cyprus and that Charlotte had transferred her rights to Savoy.⁵⁹¹ Carlo I wanted to make it obvious to the sultan that he would use those rights. Unfortunately, the sultan's reply is now lost,⁵⁹² so it remains difficult to state precisely what the outcome of this initiative was, though it is evident that while Carlo I claimed his rights, he never used the royal title as such. It should be added, though, that he died in 1489 (the year that Venice assumed direct control of Cyprus); he did not have much time after he had sent this letter to extract much of significance. Subsequent dukes of Savoy, Carlo II, Filippo II and Filiberto II, neither "fought" for their royal sovereign status nor tried to obtain Cyprus, which was by that time controlled by Venice.

Analysing the same period of the late fifteenth century from Venice's perspective is more difficult because of the relative lack of primary sources. However, it is understandable that what was fundamental for Venice was Cyprus's safety and possession, not the use of the royal title. That seems to be the reason why the Venetian authorities did not add to their titles that of Cyprus. More specifically, the earliest relevant information comes from Venice's first official historiographer, Marco Antonio Sabellico.⁵⁹³ His work was firstly printed

⁵⁸⁹ Anonymous, *Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Jacques Lusignano* (Turin, 1594), pp.10r-10v; AST RC, Mazzo 2, 3, 1r-2r, and Italian Translation in AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 13r.

⁵⁹⁰ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.579.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.579-580.

⁵⁹² Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. III: The Frankish Period, 1432-1571* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.614-615.

⁵⁹³ Daria Perocco, "Caterina Cornaro nella «Istoria Viniziana» di Pietro Bembo", *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. XXV (1993), 154.

in 1487,⁵⁹⁴ the year that Charlotte died and two years before Caterina's departure from Cyprus. His source covers the period until 1486 and was approved by Venice's senate⁵⁹⁵ (more information about Sabellico will be given in Chapter 5). Here, it should be noted that, for him, the royal title had no immediate importance; what mattered more at this early point was the safety of Caterina and her kingdom. Sabellico mentioned that the General Captain, Pietro Mocenigo, had visited the ill king of Cyprus, Jacques II of Lusignan, who asked him to manage the kingdom after his death, as his wife was not just the daughter of Marco Cornaro, but, more importantly, the Daughter of Venice. Besides, as Sabellico added, relations between him and Venice were excellent and based on mutual love. Accordingly, he entrusted the Venetians his wife, his unborn child and his kingdom, to defend them if necessary. Mocenigo reportedly replied that Venetian power would help in any way to defend his family and kingdom.⁵⁹⁶ These comments seem to suggest that Venice followed the wish of Jacques, without misusing its power. No information is included about any potential benefits from the royal title of Cyprus. Again, it seems that at that moment, what was mainly crucial and beneficial was the control of the island for political, financial, military and trading reasons, and not for reasons of a royal title.

Another official historiographer of Venice, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), (examined further in Chapter 5) confirmed again that what was primarily important for Venice was possession of the land. Like Sabellico, he did not include any potential benefits that the republic could gain by using Cyprus's royal title, again suggesting implicitly that the title was not important. Bembo focused on the most probable fictional dialogue in Cyprus between the queen and her brother Giorgio Cornaro, detailed in Chapter 5. Giorgio, according to Bembo, tried to convince Caterina to return to Venice. He underlined that she should prioritise the republic, not personal profit, so she had to embark from Cyprus.⁵⁹⁷ Again, what is noteworthy here is the absence of a comment in the

⁵⁹⁴ Robert W. Ulery, "Introduction" in Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice, Edited by Robert W. Ulery*, Vol. I (London, 2007), p.ix.

⁵⁹⁵ AST NV, Mazzo 2, 6, folder 137, 1v.

⁵⁹⁶ Marco Antonio Sabellico, *Dell' Historia Venitiana di Marco Antonio Sabellico* (Venice, 1668), p.472.

⁵⁹⁷ Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice, Edited by Robert W. Ulery*, III Vols. (London, 2007-2009), pp.40-49.

Venetian documents relating to the importance of the royal title for Venice, verifying once more that in the fifteenth century the royal title of Cyprus had no importance for the republic.

As it is now understandable, in the late fifteenth century Savoy had a *de jure* claim to Cyprus, in spite of the fact that dukes of Savoy from Carlo I to Filiberto II did not use the royal title. For Venice, *de facto* possession of the island mattered more, and as that was achieved, the republic was more than satisfied. This might explain why there is no source (or at least no surviving source) on behalf of Venice complaining about the sovereign recognition of Carlo I of Savoy from the papacy. Moving on to the early sixteenth century, again, the dukes of Savoy remained disinterested in claiming the royal title. One reason might be that in 1504, Pope Julius II issued the *Ordo Regum*, alongside the *Ordo Ducum*, critically major regulations for the order of precedence in Rome. This protocol gave Savoy the highest status amongst the ducal powers in Italy.⁵⁹⁸ At this moment, Savoy did not seem to need the royal title of Cyprus to gain a higher status. But Venice gained precedence in practice.⁵⁹⁹ Accordingly, these two states would be in dispute about who would have the highest status in the future.

The early sixteenth century was shaped by the complex political and military situation in the Italian Peninsula. In 1508, the papacy was embroiled in the War of the League of Cambrai against Venice.⁶⁰⁰ In 1509, Savoy sided against Venice in the war, questioning the precedence of Venice⁶⁰¹ and hoping to regain Cyprus via that alliance. This target was not achieved,⁶⁰² since in 1529 a peace settlement was agreed at Cambrai.⁶⁰³ However, although Savoy was not at that stage considering using Cyprus's royal title, it had viewed the war as an opportunity to gain control of the island. This demonstrates again that in the

⁵⁹⁸ Toby Osborne, "The Surrogate War", in *The International History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2007), 9.

⁵⁹⁹ Toby Osborne, "The House of Savoy and the Theatre of the World: Performances of Sovereignty in Early Modern Rome" in Matthew Vester, ed., *Sabaudian Studies: Political, Culture, Dynasty, & Territory 1400-1700* (Missouri, 2013), 171.

⁶⁰⁰ ; Gianni Perbellini, "La storia" in Gianni Perbellini, ed., *Cipro, la dote di Venezia: Eredità della Serenissima e ponte verso l' Oriente* (Milan, 2011), 49.

⁶⁰¹ Arturo Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e la Repubblica di Venezia (1545-1580)* (Venice, 1901), pp.70-71.

⁶⁰² AST NV, Mazzo 1, 4, 2r; Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 58.

⁶⁰³ Deborah Howard, "Venice: Society and Culture, 1500-1530" in David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, eds., *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (London, 2006), 2.

late fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth century what really mattered was the possession of a land, not its royal title on its own.

The fact that Savoy was mainly interested in possession of Cyprus is evidenced once more. After the restoration of peace, Savoy had another chance to obtain formally the royal title, but as it will be explained, the action was sporadic and without the sustained effort that would have been necessary to have achieved it. In 1530, Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-1556) was crowned in Bologna by Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-1534), an event of enormous political significance.⁶⁰⁴ Unsurprisingly, given its importance, the event attracted a number of ambassadorial representatives, including Savoyard representatives. Carlo III did not waste the opportunity to complain to the pope and to the emperor about the Venetian occupation of Cyprus, which, as far as Savoy was concerned, had been legally donated by Charlotte to Duke Carlo I and his descendants.⁶⁰⁵ At the imperial coronation, Duke Carlo III was emphatically honoured as he held the emperor's crown, presumably because of his status as an imperial prince and as the imperial vicar in the Italian Peninsula.⁶⁰⁶ For his part, Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-1534) formally approved the title of the king of Cyprus to the dukes of Savoy,⁶⁰⁷ forty three years after Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484-1492) had underlined the blood relation between the Lusignan kings of Cyprus and the dukes of Savoy. This was an opportunity for the Savoyard duke to claim Cyprus from Venice, because the recognition in the coronation of the Emperor Charles V was significant, since its audience consisted of European rulers.

Soon after, on 6 March 1530, Savoyard ambassadors were sent to Venice to announce Savoy's claims and to negotiate with the republic,⁶⁰⁸ showing that the duke of Savoy was willing to "fight" for his rights over Cyprus, and not for the royal title alone. So again, the claim concerned the island, not

⁶⁰⁴ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 9.

⁶⁰⁵ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.634.

⁶⁰⁶ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 9.

⁶⁰⁷ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 4, 1r, Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 58; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.615-616; Perbellini, "La storia", 49.

⁶⁰⁸ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 4, 1r, Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 58; Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.615-616; Perbellini, "La storia", 49.

the royal title. Meanwhile, this mission to Venice is important for two further reasons. First, this was the first occasion in which Savoy's representatives claimed the rights of the duke to Cyprus from Venice. Secondly, this was the first time that Venice had to deal, even briefly, with Savoy's claims in a period in which it was predominant, given its control of Cyprus since 1489. The doge's answer was simple: Venice had been ruling the island for sixty years and this would not stop.⁶⁰⁹ According to a letter written on 19 March 1530 from the papal nuncio in Venice to the pope, we read that he unsuccessfully tried to mediate for a Savoyard-Venetian solution over Cyprus:

The ambassadors of the duke of Savoy asked us to speak to the duke of Venice (the doge) and to the College [of Ten] in your majesty's name, [...] about the justice that the duke claims to hold over the kingdom of Cyprus [...]. We went last Wednesday 13 [of March] in the said college [...], as mediators to look for potential way to achieve an agreement between them and us and in your majesty's name we would approve this proposition [...]. The reply was related in the substance [of the proposal] which under no condition would this be discussed, as it was a very bad time, knowing that the Turks were a great danger for this republic [...] and that they were not going to say a word about it anymore.⁶¹⁰

Specifically, Venice, in addition to the problems with the Turks, was unmoved in its decision about Cyprus and did not discuss this any further. Conversely, the fact that Savoy sent ambassadors to Venice suggests that the duke believed his claim superseded Venice's. But Savoy could not sustain this diplomatic effort, given that it was facing its own serious problems closer to home that ultimately resulted in the French occupation of both Savoy and Piedmont (1536-1559).⁶¹¹ Indeed, as Carlo had sent in 1530 an envoy to Venice asking for the restitution of Cyprus, the Venetian authorities abandoned Savoy during the French invasion of Piedmont.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Arturo Segre, "Delle relazioni tra Savoia e Venezia da Amedeo IV a Carlo II (III) [1366-1553]", *Archivio Veneto*, XIX, (1900), 148.

⁶¹⁰ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 5, 1r: "Los ambaxadores del Dug de Savoya nos pidieron que hablassemos al Dug de Venecia et al colegio en nombre de Vuestra majestad [...], sobre la justicia quel Dug pretende tener al Regno de Chipre. [...] fuimos el miércoles passado que fueron xiii d'este al dicho colegio, [...] medianeros para buscar algunos medios de concordia entrellos, y nosotros en nombre de Vuestra majestad aprovamos su proposición [...]. La respuesta fue en sustancia que en ninguna manera le hablasse en este hecho, porque era muy mal tiempo, que sabiendo el turco que le praticava desto deria gran peligro para esta repubblica [...] et que por ninguna cosa hablaria e nello mas palabra [...]".

⁶¹¹ Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 58.

⁶¹² Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.433.

This period was marked by the fact that the dukes of Savoy wanted to establish good relations with Venice, as Duke Emanuele Filiberto (r. 1553-1580) received little help from the Emperor Charles V to retake Piedmont from the French king, François I (r. 1515-1556).⁶¹³ Consequently, the issue of Cyprus and its royal title was even less of a priority for Savoy. As the duke sought to retake Piedmont, it was even more difficult to claim Cyprus. Following the 1559 peace of Cateau-Cambresis, relations with Venice were so much improved that, in 1560, the republic sent an ambassador to Savoy after a sixty-two year absence.⁶¹⁴ The fact that they agreed to exchange ordinary ambassadors signalled that the two powers were willing to come closer and bridge their old differences. Nevertheless, in 1560, the papacy decided to grant Venice the *Sala Regia*, the regal room inside the Vatican that was used only for receiving princes and royal ambassadors.⁶¹⁵ That decision had the potential for provoking other states, including Savoy, to achieve something similar. This decision would cause various tensions amongst Italian powers.

Focusing on the respective ambassadors, Savoy's first ambassador to Venice, after that sixty-years hiatus, was Claudio Malopera (died 1562), who came from an elite family,⁶¹⁶ and who arrived in the city on 7 April 1559.⁶¹⁷ Malopera formally protested in the Signoria, stating, probably for the first time, that Savoy had rights over the island of Cyprus, and also over the royal title as well; this was to be an innovation in Savoyard-Venetian relations. Malopera said to the Signoria of Venice that

My conclusion that in 1528 [1530, as Segre corrected] the duke of Savoy, according to memory sent two [in reality three as Segre again corrected] gentlemen to your Serenity to reconcile the pretensions that the House of Savoy had over the kingdom of Cyprus, with the aim of not changing his prescription. [...] Now, my duke, I am informing you about his pretensions over the kingdom of Cyprus, pertaining to him, his successors and the firstborn descendants, and asks your Serenity to consider his speech and

⁶¹³ Nomaglio, "Savoia e Cipro", 47.

⁶¹⁴ Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 59.

⁶¹⁵ Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 2002), p.37.

⁶¹⁶ Nicolina Calapà, "Claudio Malopera" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 68 (Ebook, 2007); Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.85.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., p.100.

the title that [the House of Savoy] had over that kingdom, and concerning the title and the argument of his Excellency, he offers you his arguments and his writings, which are kept in an archive; being certain that if he will be frank in the arguments, he will not be ungrateful, and, when if wanted, I will come again to the particular matter of 'quid et quantum' [what and how much]; and this is not mentioned for any other reason but to demonstrate to your Serenity the obligations of my serene duke towards you and that his Excellency is not so ignorant of his arguments that you do not understand or know, which, although one sees the importance of force, it is however much more impotent than will.⁶¹⁸

Despite Malopera's protest, Duke Emanuele Filiberto nevertheless, wanted to maintain good relations with Venice and in the end recalled the ambassador.⁶¹⁹ Malopera also offered to renounce Savoyard rights over Cyprus if Venice were to help Savoy conquer Geneva, a city that Savoy used to dominate but which had become independent following the city's Protestant Reformation (1526-1536).⁶²⁰ However, Venice refused, complaining to Rome about Savoy's suggestion.⁶²¹ The story is also mentioned in an English contemporary source. On 22 February 1561, John Shers, an English agent and purchaser of statues,⁶²² wrote the following from Venice to the secretary in Rome, Cecil,

This week the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador has tried to persuade this estate to enter into a league with the Duke against Geneva and the Protestant Swiss, for the recovery of certain parcels of his dominions. The Ambassador used many words with little effect; he mentioned the duke's title to the kingdom of Cyprus, and that he would relieve the same, if they would aid him to recover his own against these rebels, as he called them; but he was answered time did not serve for them to enter into wars, and that they knew of no title the duke had to Cyprus, and that their title was as good, with peaceable possession these sixty years and more. The Ambassador said that divers princes had offered the Duke great sums of money for his right to the same [title], but the duke bearing such love

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., pp.130-131: "Io mi raccordo che del 1528 il signor Duca di fecce memoria mandò a v. Serenità due gentil 'huomini, tra quali c'era il presidente di Savogia, per raccordar le pretensioni che la casa di Savogia ha sopra il regno di Cipro, acciò che non gli corresse la prescrizione. So che non si otiende l'orechii di V. Sub., come non si offende alcun Principe in dirle: lo pretendo ragione. Ora il mio Duca gli fa sapere detta pretensione nel suddetto regno di Cipro per sé et suoi successori et discendenti primogeniti, et prega la Ser. V. A considerare con qual ragione et con che titolo ella possedè quel regno, et qual sia il titolo et la ragione si S. Ecc. Et le offerisse le sue ragioni et le sue scritture, le quali sono custodite in uno Archivio essendo certa che se sarà liberale delle sue ragioni, Y Sub. Non gli sarà ingrata, et quando si voglia io venirò anco al particolare del quid et quantum; né questo si dice ad altro che per mostrar a v. Ser. La servitù del s. Duca mio verso lei, et che S. Ecc. Non è tanto ignorante delle sue ragioni che non le intenda et conosca, il qual se ben si vede impotente di forze, è però molto più impotente di Volontà".

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p.85; Nicolina Calapà, "Claudio Malopera" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 68 (Ebook, 2007).

⁶²⁰ William C. Innes, *Social Concern in Calvin's Geneva* (Eugene, 1983), p.64.

⁶²¹ Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, pp.104, 510.

⁶²² Robert Lemon, *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580* (London, 1856), p.182.

towards their estate, he would not offend them; and therefore desired in case, they would not enter into war, that they would aid him with money, and he would release that title. The Pope's Legate joined with him in this behalf, but they did not prevail. They said that when the duke's title might appear unto them, they would commune further of it. This is very secret, for he [Shers] had it of the Ambassador's secretary; who wrote back the answer to the duke.⁶²³

On 10 February, the Venetian councillor Girolamo Zane and Vincenzo Sanudo responded to Malopera saying that "[F]irst of all, by telling your Serenity about the matters of Cyprus, obviously we are telling you our arguments are numerous and valuable, since they are united and substantiated by a peaceful and continuous possession [of the island of Cyprus], for almost a hundred of years, so it does not seem that we should say anything else".⁶²⁴ The reply to Malopera was simple and clear: Venice did not want to start a diplomatic dialogue with Savoy over Cyprus. In any case, as it was argued, Venice had been in possession of the island for a long time, so any rights Savoy claimed had no value. In effect, Venice argued that actual possession of the land was absolutely more vital than royal rights without possession.

In 1559, the same year that Malopera arrived in Venice, the republic dispatched an ambassador to Savoy, the patrician Andrea Boldù (1518-1595). The ostensible purpose of the mission was to establish relations of mutual friendship after the peace of Cateau-Cambresis. Besides, Savoy was an Alpine bulwark, an important strategic area for both France and Spain.⁶²⁵ Boldù arrived in Turin in January 1560 and stayed until 1561.⁶²⁶ After his departure, he continued in political life, but was not elected to another embassy, because of repeated diplomatic mistakes, including something related to Cyprus,⁶²⁷ a matter that will be discussed further on.

⁶²³ Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, foreign series, of the reign of Elizabeth, 1560-1561* (London, 1865), 563; Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, 130-131.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., pp.133-134: "Avanto veramente è parso a v.Ser. dirne delle cose di Cipro, le diremo che le nostre ragioni sono tante et così valide, unite et comprobate da un pacifico et non mai interotto possesso de'quasi cento anni, che non ne pare che habbiamo dir altro".

⁶²⁵ Angelo Ventura "Andrea Boldù" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 11 (1969).

⁶²⁶ Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.105; Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti*, v-vi.

⁶²⁷ Angelo Ventura "Andrea Boldù" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 11 (Ebook, 1969).

Boldù's *relazione* dated 1561, contains comments about the diplomacy between the two states over Cyprus, in which he aimed to prove that Savoy had no compelling argument over the kingdom and royal title. The key point is that seventy-four years after Charlotte's death, the issues raised by Charlotte and Jacques II were still under discussion, albeit not in official Savoyard-Venetian relations. However, Boldù wrote that

The House of Savoy kept claiming [its rights] over the kingdom of Cyprus, as you know and as I have already written to your Serenity and as it is openly discussed about by the subjects of his Excellency. But, for the given reasons, it seems to me that there is no need to either remember them, or to think about them, or to talk about them in any way. They argue that there is a certain will, a certain donation made to the House of Savoy by Charlotte, the legitimate daughter of Jean, the king of Cyprus, who was married to Louis from Savoy, the second born son of Louis, the duke [of Savoy] and who was for only a short time, the king of Cyprus in 1460. However, having been expelled from the kingdom, together with Charlotte King Jacques has then been placed [in the throne] by the sultan of Cairo, as the owner of the fief of that kingdom.⁶²⁸

Boldù also mentioned that Charlotte should not have passed her rights to Savoy, as Savoy did not really help her return to Cyprus as it is described in the abstract below:

[She] had no right to make a donation from the kingdom to this House of Savoy, because she neither had any support by the duke, who was her father-in-law, which was something that she was reasonably expecting from him [since he was her father-in-law], nor was she honoured the way she really deserved. And one seems that she died in Rome and not in the court of Savoy, where she should have come and died as she had given such a great gift to that House and for this sign it is understandable why Charlotte should have made no donation [to that House]. But, the fact that this woman had made this donation, as she wished, I say that this mattered little to your serenity; as she was not the owner [of Cyprus she

⁶²⁸ Andrea Boldù, "Relazione della Corte di Savoia: Letta in Pregadi il 12 Dicembre del 1561", in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 455-456: "Pretende ancora in certo modo la casa di Savoia sopra il regno di Cipro, come sa e me ne scrisse già la serenità vostra, di che ne parlano apertamente li sudditi di sua eccellenza. Ma per le ragioni che dicono, a me pare che non abbiamo causa di ricondarsene, non che di pensarvi o parlarne per modo alcuno. Dicono questi che vi è un certo testamento, ovvero certa donazione fatta a questa casa di Savoia da Carlotta figliuola legittima di Giovanni re di Cipro, la quale fu maritata a Luigi di Savoia, secondogenito di Luigi duca, il quale per certo poco tempo fu re di Cipro nel 1460. Ma essendo insieme con Carlotta da poi stato scacciato dal regno, n'era stato poi investito il re Giacomo dal soldano del Cairo, come padrone del feudo di detto regno".

had no right] to donate that kingdom, which was ruled by the real owner, who was her brother, King Jacques.⁶²⁹

Moreover, Boldù included another comment in his *relazione* underlining that although Savoy was vocal about royal status, the duke of Savoy had never officially spoken about their rights over Cyprus to the Venetian ambassador, unlike Malopera:

Your serenity and your excellent Signoria has therefore understood the very weak and truly chimerical reasons that the House of Savoy has over the said kingdom of Cyprus; for which if I have stated before that are discussed by your subjects so widely, now I come to assure your serenity that I have never heard a word neither from the illustrious duke nor by Madam. On the contrary, your serenity will understand that what was reported to me was delivered by trustful people that have noticed the situation around the duke and from what I have heard by your principal secretaries.⁶³⁰

Malopera, by inference, had delivered his speech without permission from the duke of Savoy. Moreover, Boldù also described how he learned about what Malopera had said and how himself reacted to the news:

Last July, one morning his Excellency visited a place called Caselette to see a lake that was below it; and after his Excellency had attended Mass, a young person appeared and began to recite an oration; and while he was praising his Excellency for the number and the greatness of the states that the duke ruled, he included that of Cyprus, and when that was heard by his Excellency, the latter stood up and said ironically: "Oh, yes, I want you to talk about this!" - and without letting him finish or continue that speech, his Excellency walked out and went to the room where the dinner was prepared. This was observed by many [people] so in the same evening I was informed about what happened. The following day, this incident was confirmed by several other people. And a few days before, I departed from the court, Ponziglione visited me, one of his excellency's principal secretaries, with whom I was talking about Asti, as he was from

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 457: "La quale non ebbe anco causa di fare donazione a questa casa di Savoia, nè di regno nè di molto manco ancora, non avendo avuto lei nè quell'aiuto dal duca suo suocero che ragioneVolmente aspettava, ne pur essendo a lei stati fatti quegli onori che veramente pareva che meritasse. E il veder com'ella morì in Roma e non alla corte di Savoia, dove si ha da credere che saria venuta e morta quand'ella fosse stata per tanto dono benemerita di quella casa, è pur questo segno espresso che essa Carlotta non abbia fatto donazione. Ma quando avesse pure questa donna fatta donazione qual si Volesse, io dico che questo importava poco a vostra serenità; perciocchè non era quella padrona di donare esso regno, essendone di già stata privata dal vero padrone che n'investì il re Giacomo fratello di lei".

⁶³⁰ Ibid., [69-71] / 457-459: "Ha inteso dunque la serenità vostra e le signorie vostre eccellentissime quali siano le debolissime anzi chimeriche ragioni che ha la casa di Savoia sopra detto regno di Cipro; delle quali se ho detto che ne parlano li sudditi di sua eccellenza così largamente, ora vengo ad affermare alla serenità vostra non averne mai udita parola nè dall'illustrissimo signor duca, nè da madama sua manco. Anzi per contrario intenderà la serenità vostra quanto m'è stato riferido da persone segne di fede di aver notano nel signor duca intorno a ciò, e quello eziandio che ho udito io da uno de'principali secretarii di sua eccellenza".

that place, and as a warning, he informed me about those pretensions of the duke and France saying: “Ambassador, will you speak about those illustrious masters of yours in Cyprus?” And I pretended that I did not understand and responded: “What, Cyprus?”, upon which he added: ‘Do you want to learn about the illogical [things] related to what the ambassador Malopera went to say about it to your illustrious masters; that if my duke had known that those illustrious men adhered to those remarks of Malopera as an order of his Excellence, he would remain to this very reluctant to this matter and he would think that he was kept in bad opinion, about which I showed that I was ignorant of any matter, as your serenity had already charged me. But, I have judged further that the words of the secretary, have been given by order of his Excellency.’⁶³¹

Because of Malopera’s speech and the way Boldù handled the situation, they were both replaced.

Another Venetian ambassador, Sigismondo Cavalli (1530-1579), a nobleman who began his political career in 1550 was, on 2 August 1561, elected ambassador of Venice to Savoy, where he stayed until 1563; his *relazione* dates from 1564.⁶³² In it, he reiterated the point that possession of a kingdom was more important than its royal title. Although the duke of Savoy never claimed royal rights, it was something discussed unofficially; Venice was, at least, relatively unconcerned, as no important and powerful state would help Savoy. More specifically, he wrote that the Savoyard duke knew that it was difficult to retake Cyprus, even if with aid from other states. Besides, even the Spanish king, as Cavalli wrote, would not wish to empower Savoy further:

Regarding this illustrious dominion that his Excellence has, as I believe, a good inclination, not so much out of natural benevolence, but because, as your Serenity knows well, among princes there is no affection of love or

⁶³¹ Ibid., 458-459: “Questo luglio passato era andata sua eccellenza una mattina ad un luogo nominato Caselette per occasione di veder certo lago che v’è appresso, e dopo che sua eccellenza ebbe udita la messa, se gli appresentò un giovane, il qual cominciò a recitar un’orazione; e laudando questa sua eccellenza del numero e grandezza degli stati de’quali era il signor duca padrone, nominò similmente Cipro, il che di subito che fu udito da sua eccellenza, si levò e disse ironicamente; Oh sì, che di questo voglio che se ne parli! – e senza lasciare nè finire nè seguire essa orazione, si parti sua eccellenza, ed andò all’alloggiamento dove era preparato il desinare. Del che come fui da molti accertato, così quella sera medesima mi fu riferito questo fatto dal cava; per Condoni, ed il giorno seguente mi fu da diversi confermato. E poiqui giorni innanzi ch’io mi partissi dalla corte fu a visitarmi il Ponziglione, uno de’principali secretari di sua eccellenza, con il quale parlando io d’Asti, essendo egli di quel luogo, ed avendosi lui ch m’andavo informando di queste pretensioni del signor duca e di Francia, dissemi lui: “Ambasciatore parlerete voi a quelli illustrissimi signori vostri di Cipro?” ed io che finì di non intenderlo, gli disse: “Che Cipro?” onde soggiunse lui: “Voi dovete sapere le pazzie che andò a dir l’ambasciatore Malopera a quelli eccellentissimi signori vostri intorno a questo; che se il signor duca mio sapesse che quelli illustrissimi signori avessero tenuto quelle ciancie del Malopera come di ordine di sua eccellenza, ne resteria questa di assai mala voglia, e penseria perciò di esser tenuto in mala opinione;” di che mostrai non saper io cosa alcuna, come mi fu commesso già da vostra serenità. Ho bensì giudicato io poi, che le parole di questo segretario mi fossero dette d’ordine di sua eccellenza”.

⁶³² Achile Olivieri, “Sigismondo Cavalli”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 22 (Ebook, 1979).

hate, consanguinity, except from when it becomes useful, but because he gives his dues and his friendship, he expects a better convenience than otherwise. Because of the contention of Cyprus, a bad thought could arise, he understands that it would be difficult to achieve a good result, knowing that by himself, he will never be enough to damage the things of that state, and he finds the ability to cause damage with the help of others, so far distant, partly because those who can help him, do not want for their own interests to innovate anything against that state [...], the duke knows well that the ministers of King Philip [II of Spain] would not like to see him greater than he already is, that is, as always, as a dependent and a subject.⁶³³

The fact that Cyprus was important to Savoy is also stated by Giovanni Correr, the next Venetian ambassador to Savoy, between 1563 and 1566.⁶³⁴ In his *relazione* of 1566, he wrote that despite the fact that Savoy did not claim officially Cyprus from Venice, it seems as if the duke of Savoy was pushing his claims principally to gain a higher status in Rome, as he wanted to be received officially in the *Sala Regia*. In fact, in 1565, Paolo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, was afraid that Savoy's representative there, Leonardo della Rovere, who arrived to pay tribute to the new pope, was going to obtain a major concession for Savoy.⁶³⁵ In 1566, Emanuele Filiberto sent Count Giorgio Costa della Trinità to Rome, who spoke to the captain of the Papal Guard, Vincenzo Vitelli. Vitelli told him that there was some intention that he would be listened to in the *Sala Regia*, because of the pretension over Cyprus.⁶³⁶ Tiepolo replied that Savoy's claims were false, and if the *Sala Regia* were to be opened for the duke of Savoy, this would mean that it would be open to those who were pretending that they were royals.⁶³⁷

⁶³³ Sigismondo Cavalli, "Relazione della Corte di Savoia: Anno 1564" in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 40-41: "Verso questo illustrissimo dominio ha sua eccellenza, per quanto credo, buona inclinazione, non tanto per natural benevolenza, perciocchè, come ben conosce vostra serenità, tra principi non vi è affetto di amore o di odio, nè riguardo di parentela, se non per quanto loro torna utile, ma perchè cede che dagli ufficii e dall'amicizia sua può sperar maggior comodo, che altrimenti; perchè della querela di Cipro, dalla quale gli potria nascere qualche mal pensiero, vede che difficilmente gli potria riuscire qualche buono effetto, essendochè da sè non sarà mai bastante a nuocere alle cose di questo stato, e potergli far danno con l'aiuto d'altri lo vede lontano, parte perchè quelli che sariano atti ad aiutarlo non vogliono per loro interessi particolari innovar cosa alcuna contra di questo stato, [...] il duca sa bene che li ministri del re Filippo non lo vorriano veder più grande di quello che ora è, acciò gli stesse sempre come dipendente e soggetto".

⁶³⁴ Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti*, p.vi.

⁶³⁵ Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.189.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., p.190.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p.190.

Savoy's aspiration for higher status intensified after Cosimo de Medici of Florence was promoted in 1569 to grand-duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V according to his bull "Pontifex Maximus".⁶³⁸ The next year, Cosimo travelled to Rome and was crowned by the pope in the *Sala Regia*.⁶³⁹ The fact that the Medici transitioned from rulers of Florence to rulers of the grand duchy of Tuscany caused long-running rivalries with the dukes of Savoy.⁶⁴⁰ Soon after Cosimo's promotion, Emanuele Filiberto, asked the pope to confirm Savoy's ceremonial pre-eminence amongst Italian powers.⁶⁴¹ Pius did not issue that in a bull, but in a brief before the coronation of Cosimo.⁶⁴² In general, Emanuele Filiberto wished to gain a similar title from the pope, in order for him to assert what he felt was his superiority over other princes of Italy.⁶⁴³ So, the new title of Cosimo was "an innovation in Italy"⁶⁴⁴ and the elevation of the Medici from ducal to grand ducal rulers "suggests that changes of status depended on the support of traditionally supranational powers (such as the papacy), or feudal overlords (the Emperor), and that their participation in effect, set a procedural framework".⁶⁴⁵ Of course, these changes are related to the evolution of the controversy between Savoy and Venice, as they had a domino effect related to the titles of other rulers in spite of the fact that, in short term, nothing changed. In fact, in the context of the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Venice with Spain, Rome and Savoy, amongst others, fought against the Ottomans, suggesting that, at this juncture Venice and Savoy came closer to each other.⁶⁴⁶ However, things were to change subsequently.

Despite the good Savoyard-Venetian relations, the issue of the royal rights of Savoy concerning Cyprus was still unofficially discussed. The *relazione* of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, another Venetian ambassador who served in

⁶³⁸ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 1.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁶⁴⁰ Visceglia, "Il Cerimoniale", 152-153.

⁶⁴¹ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 11.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 12.

⁶⁴³ Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.221.

⁶⁴⁴ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 5.

⁶⁴⁵ Toby Osborne, "Language and Sovereignty: The Use of Titles and Savoy's Royal Declaration of 1632" in *Medieval and Early Modern French Studies*, Vol. 14, Sarah Alyn Stacey, ed., *Political, Religious and Social Conflict in the States of Savoy, 1400-1700* (Bern, 2014), 21.

⁶⁴⁶ Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 59.

Turin from 1568 until 1570, suggests that the real “battle” between Venice and Savoy over the royal title had not really begun yet. He mentioned that the duke of Savoy could not claim Cyprus, as his potential reasons could not be better than Venice’s. Moreover, as Morosini continued, he had never heard the duke talking about the Savoyard claims over Cyprus. “[T]he pretension over the kingdom of Cyprus, of which I believe he does not talk about, as he did not find a way to value the reasons to make the claim. Not yet because he does not believe that his [reasons] are better than those of your serenity”.⁶⁴⁷ This again suggests that the Savoyard duke was not ready yet to challenge Venice’s own claims. Besides, as he continues, even if Savoy had Cyprus, it could not defend it against the Turks:

About the claim, I have never heard something from his own mouth or from the mouth of another important person. But, several things are written by authors in their histories, described [the Savoyards] as very powerful; from which was born sometimes that his Excellency’s ambassadors in Rome and in the imperial court, have questioned whether to cede to the ambassadors of your serenity. Which I would not dare to say that it was, without an order from his Excellency, as I do not believe that the ambassadors have themselves imagined such a folly.⁶⁴⁸

Finally, Morosini wrote that the duke was speaking with “compliance” to the republic:

But, having in mind the great love that your serenity shows, by having an ambassador as ordinary resident, and all these offices that meanwhile are done by your serenity’s ambassadors, who pass by his states going and returning from France and Spain, full of love and kindness, and understanding how empty could be their thoughts about the things if Cyprus, as even if [the duke] possessed the kingdom, he could not defend it from the great power of the Turks.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Gio. Francesco Morosini, “Relazione della Corte di Savoia: Letta in Senato il 1570” in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 188: “la pretensione sopra il regno di Cipro, della quale credo io che lui non ne parli, perchè non si trova ancor modo di far valere quelle ragioni che vi pretende avere; ma non già perchè non creda che le sue siano migliori di quelle della serenità vostra”.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 189: “Il che sebbene io non ho inteso dalla bocca sua propria, o d’altra persona d’importanza, sono però dagli scrittori delle sue istorie descritte per potentissime; dal che è nato alle Volte che gli ambasciatori di sua eccellenza a Roma e alla corte dell’imperatore hanno messo qualche dubbio di dar il luogo agli ambasciatori della serenità vostra. Il che io non ardirei dire che fosse senza ordine di sua eccellenza, perchè non credo io che [189] gli ambasciatori avessero da sè stessi immaginato una simile follia”.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 189-190: “Ma considerando poi il grand’amore che le mostra vostra serenità con tenerle appresso un ambasciatore ordinario residente, e li molti uffici che di tempo gli sono fatti da tutti gli ambasciatori della serenità vostra, che passano per i suoi stati andando e ritornando di Francia e di Spagna, pieni d’amore e di cortesia, e vedendo che

It should be added that this period of time was crucial for Cyprus, since the Venetians were trying hard not to lose the island to the Ottomans. In December 1570, a few days after the resistance of the Venetians in Famagusta of Cyprus against the Turks, the duke of Savoy congratulated the Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lippomano (1538-1591), who had arrived in Savoy in September 1570 where (he stayed until July 1573).⁶⁵⁰ The duke also asked Lippomano to go with him to Nice to see the galleys being prepared for Cyprus's aid.⁶⁵¹ Venice, as we know, lost control of the island, and in this context, Savoy had fewer reasons at this juncture to discuss its royal rights with Venice.

Lippomano's *relazione* of 1573 again demonstrates the good relations between the two states during that period of time.⁶⁵² It does not mention anything about the duke of Savoy and Cyprus, except that Cyprus had already fallen to the hands of the Turks.⁶⁵³ The absence of any critical comments about Savoy's ambitions underlines is perhaps telling, though it should be added that the Cyprus issue was temporarily buried due to the Turkish conquest of the island of Cyprus.

Sidestepping the details, it can be said that sustained Savoyard-Venetian rivalry over Cyprus had not yet started, as at this time what mattered more was territorial possession. Thus, when Venice was in possession of Cyprus, it did not enter into negotiations with Savoy about the island. For Savoy's part, the duchy was steadily trying to gain possession of Cyprus, and not just use its royal title, even though, in reality, they had not used the royal title yet. One reason was the *Ordo Ducum* of 1504, according to which Savoy had pre-eminence although, in practice, Venice was accorded precedence. Also, as mentioned earlier, Pope Clement VII had effectively approved the title of the king of Cyprus for Savoy at Charles V's coronation, but again the duke did not formally use it. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Savoy demanded

vani possono essere i suoi pensieri nelle cose di Cipro, poichè anco quando lui possedesse quel regno non saria atto a difenderlo dalla gran possanza del Turco".

⁶⁵⁰ Giuseppe Gullino, "Girolamo Lippomano" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 65 (Ebook, 2005).

⁶⁵¹ Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto e Venezia*, p.236.

⁶⁵² Giuseppe Gullino, "Girolamo Lippomano" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 65 (Ebook, 2005).

⁶⁵³ M. Girolamo Lippomano, "Relazione della Corte di Savoia: Tornatore ambasciatore nel 1573" in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 223-224.

once, via the ambassador Malopera, (whether being formally approved by the duke of Savoy or not), the island and the title of Cyprus. However, Cosimo de Medici's grand-ducal coronation, in 1570, in the *Sala Regia*, was proved to be a precipitant way for a change in approach by Savoy.

The issue of Cyprus: 1571-1630

From the first part of this chapter it is now understandable that until 1571, while Venice retained control of Cyprus, there were no formal discussions with Savoy over the royal title. What mattered more up till then was the possession of the island, not the use of its royal title. Thus, Savoy's claims were simply not an issue for Venice. On its part, Savoy was not, as yet, principally concerned with the royal title, but rather with the territory, asking either for its return or for compensation, underlining that they were its rightful rulers because of Charlotte's donation. However, they lacked the power either to force Venice to leave the island or to fight Venice to achieve their goal. The second part of the chapter focuses on a series of events that prompted the dukes to start promoting their sovereign rights. It covers the years 1571-1630, a period during which the dukes of Savoy, firstly, Emanuele Filiberto and then, Carlo Emanuele I (1580-1630), began to apply pressure for the acquisition of royal rights over the crown of Cyprus rather than territorial possession. However, until then, those rights had never officially been claimed by a Savoyard duke. In general, this was a period characterised by the relative political inactivity of Savoy, readily understandable by the absence of comments relating to Cyprus in official Savoyard documents.

Originally, although in 1571, Emperor Maximilian (r. 1564-1576) announced that in his court Savoy would still have precedence over the Medici,⁶⁵⁴ in 1576, he modified the ceremonial custom by placing "Tuscany immediately after Venice, and thus ahead of Savoy",⁶⁵⁵ something that "created

⁶⁵⁴ Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 12.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 12-13.

a simmering political problem”.⁶⁵⁶ This was a change against Savoy, in consequence of which the Savoyard dukes would try to regain the pre-eminence that they had lost both in Rome and in the emperor’s court. For this reason, the claim to Cyprus’s royal crown would purely be a matter of time. However, this is something that will be discussed and analysed in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, 1574 was a year of great diplomatic success for Venice over Savoy. Duke Emanuele Filiberto travelled to Venice, in order to meet Henri III of France (r. 1573-1575). The doge, Alvise Mocenigo (r. 1570-1577), gave the title ‘Patricio Veneto e membro del Maggior Consiglio’, to him and his descendants, thereby restoring diplomatic relations between the two states.⁶⁵⁷ Nonetheless, as a “Son of St Mark”, the title of the Savoyards would be stated in formal diplomatic contexts, after that of the Venetians.⁶⁵⁸ This may well have been a diplomatic error on Savoy’s part, as in the future negotiations that we will see further on, Venice would remember that nomination in the conversations with Savoy over the royal title. Savoy unintentionally ceded superiority to Venice by accepting this title from the Republic.

Francesco Molino, the ordinary Venetian ambassador in Savoy between 1573 and 1576, produced his *relazione* in 1576, adding to the impression of good Savoyard-Venetian relations during his time; there is an absence of any critical comments about Savoy’s ambitions to the royal kingdom - Molino had only positive things to write about the duke of Savoy: “[R]epresenting the conditions of the duke of Savoy, before whom I was a resident ambassador, the greatness of the state that he owns, together with the quality of it, and that of the people and their disposition towards his Highness”.⁶⁵⁹ In the next part of Molino’s *relazione*, it is evident that unofficially, the duke of Savoy obtained recognition of the title of “Altezza” - orally and in letters from other rulers in the Italian Peninsula - perhaps reducing the need for him to use the Cypriot title:

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁵⁷ Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 59.

⁶⁵⁸ Nomaglio, “Savoia e Cipro”, 47.

⁶⁵⁹ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 4, 3r-3v: “rapresentarle le condizioni del Signor Duca di Savoia, appresso il quale sono stato Ambasciatore residente, la grandezza dello stato che possiede ed’insieme la qualità d’esso, e quella de Popoli, e la dispositione loro verso Sua Altezza”.

I will not extend also in mentioning you that after the authority of the House [of Savoy] and the quality of blood for the great state that he owns, and the intimacy he has with all the major princes of Christendom, for a continuous and very close affinity, having his predecessors always giving their female relatives to leading kings, and receiving likewise the daughters of great kings, it seems that the title of Serenissimo is fitting, which is given to them by all the princes of Italy, except Ferrara and Mantua - who refrain from using the title of "Altezza" - by all the cardinals, the pope's nephew and especially the nunzios, in words and in letters, and in public writings give him the title of Serenissimo.⁶⁶⁰

Regarding the duke of Savoy's title of "son of St Mark", Molino observed that

He wants to be a Venetian gentleman, a member of this nobility, and understands that his state be of your Serenity and the two to be one state, and he does not be treated as foreigners by Venetians and your Serenity's subjects, and to five gentlemen from Venice, one from Padua and the other from Verona, he gave them, it can be said, the care of his person, the son and his state, a thing that would not happen with foreigners and citizens of any other prince. He wants all to know and to see this reverent and loving sentiment, that he wants to be a most partial servant to this Serene dominion, and he wants that your Serenity's ordinary ambassadors resident his highness not to be respected, but obeyed as he himself.⁶⁶¹

Again, these comments underline that Savoy wanted good relations with Venice.

And yet, while relations between the two states in the 1570s were generally good, after Duke Emanuele Filiberto's death in 1580, the situation changed; Carlo Emanuele I succeeded his father and it soon became evident that his approach to Savoy's royal claims would be different. His ambition was

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 2v: "Non m'estenderò anche in dirle che doppo l'autorità della Casa, et altezza del sangue, per lo stato grande, che possiede, e per la gran dipendenza che ha con tutti li Principi maggiori della Christianità per un continuo e strettissimo parentado, havendo li suoi Antecessori sempre dato le loro Donne alli maggiori Rè, e pigliate medesimamente le figlie di Gran Rè gli pare d'essere degno del titolo di Serenissimo, quale gli vien dato da tutti i Principi d' Italia, fuori che da Ferrara e Mantova, che manco lo chiamano con totolo d'Altezza, da tutti li Cardinali, dal Nipote del Papa e specialmente dalli Nuntii, et in parole, et in lettere, et in scritture pubbliche gli danno del Serenissimo".

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 19r-19v: "Vuole essere Gentilhuomo Venetiano, membro di questa Nobiltà, e che s'intende lo stato suo essere di V. Serenità, e tutti due essere per in solo stato, e vuole che de Venetiani, e Sudditi di V. Serenità non s'intendino per forastieri, et a cinque Gentilhuomini Venetiani, uno Padovano, l'altro Veronese ha dato, si può dire, la sua Persona, quella del figliuolo, et il suo stato in Guardia, cosa che non farebbe con forastieri e sudditi d'alcun'altro Principe. Questa sua riverente et amorevole dispositione d'animo vuole che tutti la sappino e tutti la vedino, che vuol'essere servitore partialissimo di questo Serenissimo Dominio, e vuole che gl'Ambasciatori ordinarii di V. Serenità appresi S. A, non siano rispettati, ma ubbiditi come lui medemo".

to obtain a royal crown⁶⁶² and to rank alongside the kingdoms of Spain and France.⁶⁶³ Although Carlo Emanuele never formally claimed the royal title of Cyprus, he prepared the grounds for the claim more than any previous duke. That was obvious from an anonymous source called *Trattato delle ragioni sopra il regno di Cipro*, which was published by Giovanni Battista Bevilacqua in 1594.⁶⁶⁴ It should be added, regarding this work, that, nothing else is known about this anonymous author and whether his source was ordered by the duke or a person close to him. Gasparo Lonigo (da Este) from Padua, an author who will be analysed later, wrote in his 1624 source that Savoyards “[h]ave published a book, which presents the rights of Charlotte in this Kingdom [of Cyprus] and the unjust expulsion of her by King Jacques II, and, thereby, the *de jure* succession of it should be respected”.⁶⁶⁵ However, without knowing if that source was ordered by the duke, or any person around him, we cannot be certain about the background of the work, so the focus is only on what the source actually includes.

The importance of this anonymous source lies mainly in the fact that it argues that the duke of Savoy was born a prince, and did not become one by marriage, and thus had pre-eminence over the “duke of Florence” (that is to say the grand-duke of Tuscany); “[A]ccordingly one might add that when the duchy of Florence is erected as a kingdom and the grand-duke becomes king of Tuscany, he might not however claim precedence over the serene princes of Savoy because they had anterior dignity and royal title and they were born kings, they were not made or created”.⁶⁶⁶ In fact, to prove that, the author returned to the old two queens of Cyprus, Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro as the foundation for his argument.

⁶⁶² Stéphane Gal and Preston Perluss, “Carlo Emanuel I’s Foreign Policy: The Duke of Savoy’s French Voyage (1599-1600)” in Matthew Vester, ed., *Sabaudian Studies: Political, Culture, Dynasty, & Territory 1400-1700* (Missouri, 2013) 127.

⁶⁶³ Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 60.

⁶⁶⁴ Géraud Poumarède, “Deux Têtes pour une couronne: La rivalité entre la Savoie et Venise pour le titre royal de Chypre au temps de Christine de France”, *Dix-septième siècle*, No 262, Vol. 1 (2014), 53-54.

⁶⁶⁵ ASV CJ, 66: “hanno fatto comparir alla stampa un tal qual libro, che apressa mostrar le raggioni di Carlotta in quel Regno, et la ingiusta espulsione fatta dal Re Giacomo II, et con tal mezzo et ad essi si rispetti di iure la successione in quello”.

⁶⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Trattato sopra Cipro*, 17v: “Anzi si dice di più, che quando il Ducato di Firenze fosse ereto in regno, et il gran Duca fatto Rè di Toscana, non però potrebbe pretendere precedenza sopra li Serenissimi Prencipi di Savoia, perche essi hanno anteriormente dignità, et titolo di Rè, et sono nati Rè, non fatti, ò creati, oltre molte altre ragioni, quali si ometteno, perche non è il bisogno”.

Charlotte of Lusignan is used in such a way that the anonymous author underlined that while she was forced to leave Cyprus, she nevertheless kept her royal title and prerogatives until her death and also bequeathed those rights to Duke Carlo I. Accordingly, the dukes of Savoy should enjoy the prerogatives of the old Lusignan kings of Cyprus.

King Louis, her husband, died first without children from Charlotte, who without husband and goods, ended up in Rome, to secure support from the pontiff, and, by that means, the restitution of her kingdom, which was occupied by the Venetians. Also, Louis duke of Savoy and Anne [of Lusignan, his wife] died leaving behind the firstborn Amedeo behind, as duke of Savoy and Filippo, their third son; when Amedeo died, he left behind his sons Filiberto and Carlo behind; afterwards, when Filiberto died without children, he was succeeded by his brother Carlo [...] Therefore, while the aforesaid Queen Charlotte though violently deprived of the kingdom, she was nonetheless, the true ruler and patron of the said kingdom; she kept the title, the name, the rank, the status and the prerogatives that the kings of Cyprus her ancestors had and expected even after she was expelled and divested. By transferring the solemn title and her [royal] rights via donation to Duke Carlo, a close relative of hers, received those rights; it is beyond doubt that this was the reason he expected and assumed the legitimate title and nomination of the king of Cyprus, even when Charlotte was still alive, [and the royal title] did not belong to the occupiers of the kingdom [Jacques II, Jacques III and Caterina Cornaro]. So Carlo could enjoy the donation and retain the [sovereign] status, place and pre-eminence that the kings of Cyprus had and enjoyed.⁶⁶⁷

Moreover, the anonymous 1594 author also wrote about the question of why Carlo and the following successors did not claim their rights over Cyprus. As he explained, they first preferred to take control of the island and then enjoy the royal title, showing again that, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, possession was the primary focus and not the use of a royal title.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 9r-10r: "Morse prima Ludovico Rè suo marito senza figlivoli da esa Charlotte, la qual priva del marito, et de beni, si ritirò à Roma per procurare appreso il Pontefice, et co' l suo mezzo lala restituzione del regno, qual si teneva occupato da detti Venetiani. Morsero parimente Ludovico Duca di Savoia, et Anna predetti, lasciati Amedeo primogenitor Duca di Savoia, et Filippo terzogenito, venne anco à morte ditto Amedeo, lasciati Filiberto, et Carlo suoi figliVoli, indi essendo mancato Filiberto primogenitor senza figliVoli, succedè ditto Carlo fratello. [...] perciò la detta Charlotte Regina, se ben era per violenza privata del regno, era però veramente Signora, et patrona di detto regno, et riteneva il titolo, nome, grado, luogo, et prerogative, che havevano, et spettavano alli Rè di Cipro suoi antecessori, et à lei avanti l' espulsione et spoglio. Unde transferendo per solenne titolo di donatione le sue ragioni nel Duca Carlo suo prossimior parente, à cui parimente per successione dovevano pervenire dette ragioni, non è dubio che ad eso spettava, et apparentava il legittimo titolo, et nominatione di Rè di Cipro, etiam vivente detta Charlotte Regina, e non alli detentori, et occupatori del Regno, et perciò esso Carlo donatario doveva godere, et tener il grado, luogo, et preheminenze, che havevano li Rè di Cipro, et aloro spettavano".

There is a difficulty in understanding the reason why his ancestors had not used the title, nomination, pre-eminence and royal prerogatives; the response, in the first place, is that Duke Carlo I, who was the immediate successor of Queen Charlotte and beneficiary of her rights in the kingdom [of Cyprus], and then, the other successors, always had the intention of restoring their power in the kingdom, finding it more convenient to enjoy the title and dignity whenever they might actually possess and enjoy the kingdom; though some of them could not achieve that, as they died, others complained [about the situation], others were prevented by legitimate impediments, as it becomes clear from the above discourse and narration, and could not secure their intention.⁶⁶⁸

The case of the duke of Savoy's sovereign status is also described by a Venetian ambassador, Fantino Corrarò, who was in Savoy between 1595 and 1598.⁶⁶⁹ In fact, he was the first ambassador during Carlo Emanuele I's reign and wrote, in 1598, his *relazione* four years after the publication of the anonymous Savoyard source mentioned above.⁶⁷⁰ In general, this *relazione* is connected to the anonymous source in the fact that both works underline that the Savoyard duke was putting pressure for the recognition of the blood royalty in his dynasty. Even if the duke was not behind the anonymous 1594 source, it is evident that Carlo Emanuele wanted royal recognition. Also, Corrarò's *relazione* importantly provides insights into Venice's approach to Savoy's claim. Corrarò wrote that the dukes of Savoy were always ranked higher than other Italian dukes. However, a royal title, as he added, could offer new status opportunities, not least, the chance to regain his pre-eminence over Florence. A pre-eminence that had been challenged from 1570, in Venice, and in 1576 at the emperor's court.

The princes of Savoy claimed not only precedence over Florence and superiority over other Italian dukes, but also a royal title. The duke [of Savoy] claims precedence over Florence, because of the antiquity of his dominion, because of the greatness of his House that was related with the major powers of Europe and, finally, because of the state that he possesses - larger, more free, with major opportunities and formerly a

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 16r: "Ne osta che li antecessori suoi non habbino usato del titolo, nominatione, proheminenze, et prerogative regie, perche si risponde, primieramente, che il Duca Carlo primo, qual fu immediato successore della Regina Charlotte nelle ragioni del Regno, et doppoi lui li altri successori, hebbero sempre intentione di procupar prima la restitutione del Regno, parendoli più conveniente godere del titolo et dignità, quando havessero, et goldessero il regno, se ben alcuni prevenuti da morte, altri rimasti pipilli, altri impediti di legittimi impedimenti come dal discorso, e narratione sopra fatta si può conoscere, non pottere essequire loro intento".

⁶⁶⁹ Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti*, xi.

⁶⁷⁰ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes ", 53-54.

kingdom. And Florence, by contrast, was given the title of “Altezza” (Highness) without something equal, presuming now that [the duke of Florence] wants to precede because of the title of grand duke, by the power of gold and for the precedence given to him by Emperor Maximilian”.⁶⁷¹

Besides, as Corraro continued, it was not the first time that Savoyard dukes had demanded either “superiority” over other Italian dukes or the use of a royal title. However, “[o]ver the rest of the dukes of Italy, the dukes of Savoy always had superiority, as they [the rest of the dukes of Savoy] had inferior power and also in reality were not even free princes but fief-holders, as in the cases of [the dukes of] Mantua and Modena, Parma and Urbino”.⁶⁷² Corraro thus explained that the case of Florence was not the same as the other duchies. Corraro adds that Emanuele Filiberto was the one who had demanded the title of the king of Cyprus in order that his ambassadors would be accepted in the Vatican’s *Sala Regia*. “[T]hen, the present duke having a major desire himself, wanted to claim the title of the king of Cyprus, as it should be well remembered by this Excellent Senate, and with the aim of achieving audience for his ambassadors in the *Sala Regia*”.⁶⁷³ This point would be taken-up by the Savoyard author, Pietro Monod, in his 1633 treatise, which is discussed later.⁶⁷⁴

The *relazione* of the next Venetian ambassador in Turin, Pietro Contarini (1578-1632), is another fundamental source for this part of the thesis. Pietro’s father, Paolo Contarini, was a senator and his mother Comelia was the daughter of Giorgio Cornaro, Caterina Cornaro’s powerful brother.⁶⁷⁵ In 1604, Pietro became a member of the College of the Sages (Collegio dei Savi) of

⁶⁷¹ Fantino Corraro, “Relazione dello Stato di Savoia” in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 358-359: “Hanno i principi di Savoia preteso non solo precedenza con Firenze e superiorità sopra gli altri duchi d’Italia, ma il titolo di Re ancora. Pretende il signor duca precedenza con Firenze per l’antichità del suo dominio, per la grandezza della sua casa, con la quale si sono sempre apparentati i maggiori potentati di Europa, e finalmente per lo stato che possiede, più ampio, più libero, di maggior opportunità, e che fu altre Volte regno; e Firenze all’incontro, che prima gli dava dell’Altezza senz’esserne corrisposto, presume adesso di Volergli andar avanti per il titolo di Granduca, per la potenza dell’oro, e per il luogo che ha ottenuto sopra di lui dall’imperatore Massimiliano”.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 359: “Col resto dei duchi d’Italia hanno sempre quelli di Savoia avuta la superiorità come su principi molto inferiori di forze, e che non sono in effetto principi liberi, ma feudarii, come Mantova e Modena dell’Imperio Parma e Urbino della Chiesa”.

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⁶⁷⁴ Monod, *Trattato*, p.44.

⁶⁷⁵ Paolo Frasson, “Pietro Contarini” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 28 (1983).

Venice.⁶⁷⁶ Then, between April 1606 and December 1608, he was an ambassador in Turin.⁶⁷⁷ Pietro wrote in the same terms as his predecessor, Corraro, over the Savoyard claims. This time, the claim over the crown of Cyprus is named plainly:

Leaving aside those pretensions [of the House of Savoy] that these princes claim to have over the kingdom of France, because of Madame Marguerita, mother of the present duke, for the [pretensions] they were claiming that they had over the kingdom of Cyprus, and also the even older ones over Flanders and other places, because of the antiquity and the tenuousness [of the claims] it puts them in low esteem of others, of what they themselves never tried to practise, for not being known other than in some publications, which were also withdrawn.⁶⁷⁸

Of course, the reason for this claim was to assert a higher status relative to other Italian states. As Contarini continued,

The duke pushed harder to obtain his royal title and to be treated in the same way as crowned heads, not only because of Cyprus, but also of Savoy, demonstrating that those states for a long time now, have passed under the name and the title of the kingdom and it has been a struggle to gain papal support, with his ambassadors seeking amongst other things an audience in *Sala Regia*, which, having been denied, especially by the present pope, the duke did not want to send him an extraordinary ambassador, as it is customary, to render obedience to his Holiness.⁶⁷⁹

However, Rome's response was negative. Evidently, Savoy was thorough in demanding its royal rights over the Cypriot crown. What is more, the republic was kept abreast of the Savoyard ambitions, but it did not deem it necessary to defend officially its royal rights; Savoy, according to the *relazioni*, notably lacked support from the papacy in its royal ambitions, something that might have

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Pietro Contarini, "Relazione di Savoia" in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 85: "Tralascio quelle pretensioni che dicono avere questi principi sopra il regno di Francia, per madama Margherita madre del presente signor duca, colle altre che pur affermano di tenere sopra il regno di Cipro, ed anco più antiche sopra la Fiandra ed altri luoghi, poichè e l'antichità, e la tenuità loro le rende non mano in poca stima appresso gli altri, di quello che essi medesimi abbiano procurato mai di esercitarle, per non essersi in altro conosciute che in alcune stampe, le quali furono anco ritirate".

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 85: "Pretende di più il signor duca il titolo di re, e di essere trattato al pari delle teste coronate, non solo per il rispetto di Cipro, ma anco per la Savoia, mostrando che quegli Stati per lungo corso di tempo sono passati sotto nome e titolo di regno, e si è affaticato molto per acconciarlo appresso dei pontefici, col far procurare dai suoi ambasciatori oltre il resto, l'udienza in sala regia, che essendole stata negata, massime dal presente pontefice, non ha voluto però il signor duca mandarvi ambasciatore straordinario, come è solito, per rendere obbedienza alla Santità Sua".

resulted in Savoy gaining royal recognition in the Italian Peninsula more generally.

Although the issue of Cyprus was becoming increasingly paramount to Savoy in the later 1500s, it does not mean that the duke was not also interested in taking the island under his control. As Samuel Guichenon wrote in 1660, (and is analysed in the next chapter) the duke sent in 1601, François Accidas from Rhodes as an envoy to Cyprus to inform the archbishop and the Cypriots in general of his aspiration to recover the kingdom.⁶⁸⁰ Guichenon added that the envoy visited Jerusalem and secretly discussed the issue of Cyprus and the possibility of ejecting the Turks with the patriarch.⁶⁸¹ Some years later, as Guichenon wrote, the archbishop of Cyprus, Christodoulos, and the Cypriot inhabitants of Nicosia sent Victorio Zebetho as their envoy to Duke Carlo Emanuele to express their aversion of Ottoman rule.⁶⁸² In a letter, dated 8 October 1608, they requested assistance from Savoy to remove the Turks, aided also by the Spanish power. In the source, the duke of Savoy is called “Altezza, as he was the lord of the old kingdom [of Cyprus]”.⁶⁸³

Those people [Christians of Cyprus] are under the tyranny of these Turkish dogs, so they are sending [this letter] to the superior, your Highness, to use [your forces] with the power of the Majesty of King Philip III [of Spain], to give an order and help to liberate those poor Christians from the slavery of the tyrant that is a grand pity that such a kingdom is in the hands of the Turks, while it used to be a territory of your Highness's ancient ancestors and if God and the Holy Spirit guide the majesty of King Philip III [of Spain] and your Highness to raise an armed force.⁶⁸⁴

As the source continues, “[A]nd being liberated [from the Turks] and for everything your Highness will be informed, expecting for the God every satisfaction, so we can see you king of Cyprus, like your ancestors, to kiss the

⁶⁸⁰ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, pp.793-794.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.794.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, p.794.

⁶⁸³ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 7, 1r: “Altezza come signore andico di detto regno”.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1r: “Li quali popoli se ritrovano in tanta tiranità da questi cani turchi et per questo mandano a superiore vostra Altezza d'adoperare con la potenza della Maestà di Re Filippo III di dare ordine et aiuto de liberare questi poveri cristiani della cattività del tirano che è un grandissimo peccato tal Regno ritrovarsi in mano de turchi essendo stato dominano delli antichi preticessori di vostra Altezza et se il Dio et il spirito santo luminerà la maestà di Re Filippo et vostra Altezza di fare armata”.

feet of your Highness”.⁶⁸⁵ Although, the duke’s reply is unknown, it seems that the possibility of a crusade against the Turks was, in any case, a likely one at this juncture. If a crusade were to happen, it might have provided options for Savoy [with opportunities] to assert its claims to Cyprus.⁶⁸⁶

Apart from Guichenon, another author who provides relevant information is Gasparo Lonigo (da Este), a jurist from Padua.⁶⁸⁷ He wrote a three volume manuscript source, which is fundamental for this part of the thesis, giving his opinion about the issue of Savoy’s rivalry with Venice over Cyprus. Volume I is a 1645 manuscript called *Trattato della Presedenza*, volume II is a 1624 manuscript source with the title *Della precedenza de prencipi di Gasparo Lonigo* and volume III of the source, again, with the title *Trattato della prededenza di Gasp. Lonigo Dottor da Este* included a copy of Monod’s work, the source of Lusignano and excerpts from Pope Pius II’s Commentaries. Lonigo’s work demonstrates that despite the fact that the major rivalry between Venice and Savoy had not yet begun, Savoy was beginning to articulate the kinds of arguments it would later use. In Volume II, Lonigo did not deny that Charlotte used to be a queen, and he mentions her with her full title “Carola Hierusalem, Cyprus, et Armenie Regina”.⁶⁸⁸ However, as he continued, she passed her royal rights to Savoy, “but the successors never have resumed not even this passive soul to assure those royal titles”.⁶⁸⁹ Significantly, Savoy argued that it was not the only case that a king had a title but not the kingdom. For this reason, “[b]y giving them the titles: like the king of England [claiming to be] the king of France, like the one of Spain [claiming to be] king of Sicily and Jerusalem and like other similar cases”.⁶⁹⁰

Lonigo was trying to underline that Savoy could not gain pre-eminence over Venice. He indicated that the ambassadors of Savoy in Rome followed

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 1r: “Et avere la libertà e del tutto sene fa aviso a vosotra Altezza sperando dal Dio ogni contento che lo possiamo vedere Re di Cipri come suoi antecessori con basciare li piedi di vosotra Altezza”.

⁶⁸⁶ Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 61.

⁶⁸⁷ Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, Vol. I (Padua, 1832), p.532.

⁶⁸⁸ ASV CJ, 66, unpaginated.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid: “ma li successori non hanno mai riassunto quel passivo almeno animo, con inseguirsi di quelli titoli regii”.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid: “con darli li titoli di quello che si vede di Re di Inguiltera, che si da di Re di Francia, quello di Spagna, di Re di Sicilia, di Re di Hierusalem, di altri simili”.

those of Venice in court protocols, where the ambassadors of Venice were received in the *Sala Regia*. However, Savoy's ambassadors and those of other duchies were not entitled to do so: "[N]either is his ambassador in Rome is given audience in the *Sala Regia*, nor has a kiss of the pope's hand, or is honoured like the ambassadors of the kings and those of the [Venetian] Republic are".⁶⁹¹ Also, he mentioned that "[d]uke is neither king by name not by facts; but, the other dukes of Italy are of inferior place to the one of Savoy",⁶⁹² a comment that again shows Venice's pre-eminence over Savoy. In volume I, Lonigo presents more general reflections on the nature of precedence. He talked about the *Ordo Regum*⁶⁹³ and explained why Venice ranks with royal powers.⁶⁹⁴ He argued that Savoy did not have true royalty, in spite of its claim to the Cypriot crown:

From what is already mentioned, it can be added this certain conclusion; that the prince who enjoys this character of true majesty is also a real king, even if he does not have the title of the king; however, the one that does not enjoy it, even if he has the title of the king, he is not a real king and the reason is since sovereignty is the mother of majesty, which is incompatible with subjugation, it also remains to those sovereigns.⁶⁹⁵

In 1630, Carlo Emanuele died and his death also marks the end of this particular chapter in Savoy's claims to Cyprus. Until his reign Savoy had not claimed officially the royal title from Venice. As we have seen, from Carlo I's reign until that of Carlo Emanuele I, there were some unofficial attempts to promote; the claim, principally following Cosimo's promotion in 1570 and Venice's loss of Cyprus the year after. These things occurred during Duke Carlo Emanuele I's reign, driven, as he was, by his ambition to regain his pre-eminence over other Italian powers. However, there was no official claim, and, with the exception of the 1594 anonymous *Trattato*, there are no pro-Savoyard sources to support that claim. But it is evident that the issue of Savoy's claim

⁶⁹¹ Ibid: "Ne il suo ambasciatore in Roma ha l'audienza nella sala dei Re ne ha l'osculo della mano del Papa [...] ne honorato come si fanno gli ambasciatori delli Re e della Repubblica".

⁶⁹² Ibid: "Quel Duca non è Re ne di nome ne di fatti; et perque gli altri Duchi d'Italia sono di inferior luogo a questo di Savoia".

⁶⁹³ ASV CJ, 65, 261.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 237.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 247v-248r: "Da quanto si hà sin hora detto si può raccogliere questa certissima conclusione, che quel Principe, che gode questo Carattere di vera Maestà è anco vero Re se bene non hà il titolo di Rè mà chi non la gode, se bene hà il titolo di Rè non è vero Re, et la ragione è perche essendo la sovranità Madre della Maestà, che è incompatibile con la soggettione, rest anche questi sovrani".

was, at least acknowledged, possibly explaining why Gasparo Lonigo wrote to counter the claim. After 1630, Savoy finally claimed its royal rights from Venice and as it will be explained in the next chapter, this change precipitated a flurry of written polemics.

* * *

Savoy's claim to Cyprus can be placed in a wider context. In the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century, what mainly mattered was possession of the kingdom; that is why Savoy did not feel any necessity to demand the royal title on its own. Besides, in the 1504 *Ordo Ducum*, the House of Savoy gained priority over the other duchies of Italy. For its part, given that Venice possessed Cyprus from 1489 until 1571, there was no compelling need to add its royal title to their titles, a fact which gives further evidence that in that period of time, possession of land was the primary concern.

However, things changed in the late 1500s, precipitated by Savoy's increasingly concerted interest in Cyprus's royal title, even though Savoy still refrained from claiming officially the title from Venice. As Venice had been granted in 1560 the *Sala Regia* in Rome and had also gained precedence in the imperial court in 1576, while Cosimo of Medici of Florence gained the title of the grand-duke in 1569, so Emanuele Filiberto and the Carlo Emanuele I had, in effect, been forced to consider how to regain back their lost pre-eminence over other Italian powers. The main aim of Savoy was to secure acceptance in *Sala Regia*. Given that Venice had pre-eminence in the papal and imperial courts in this period, the Republic did not feel obliged to use the royal title of Cyprus, a title that it had not used even while they were controlling the island. However, as the next chapter explores, the situation changed soon after.

Chapter 4

The House of Savoy, the Venetian Republic and the Crown of Cyprus from 1630

Chapter 4 starts with Duke Vittorio Amedeo I's reign - he was the first Savoyard duke to claim officially the royal title on Savoy's behalf, despite the fact that Charlotte had renounced her claims to the throne in 1485. Vittorio Amedeo I's reign was the pick of the diplomatic and polemical "battle" between Venice and Savoy over claims of the royal title of Cyprus. For this reason, the first part of this chapter covers his years. As will be explained, it was crucial for Vittorio Amedeo to claim that he was born a royal prince as a means of securing recognition of a higher status and royal prerogatives. Of course, Venice reacted to this claim. In fact, the result was the temporary end of Savoyard-Venetian diplomatic relations. Accordingly, the chapter presents the arguments of each side and the means they used to support them, especially those of Savoy. The subsequent years when Savoy sought to gain the royal title from Venice are also reviewed in the second part of the chapter, which covers a much longer period, from Vittorio Amedeo I's death in 1637 until 1797 and the end of Venice. However, the chapter also addresses the period up to 1861, the year Vittorio Emanuele II (r. 1861-1878) became king of Italy. Across this entire period, dukes of Savoy achieved various diplomatic victories, including Carlo Emanuele III's (r. 1730-1773) recognition from the Venetian authorities in 1740 of the title of "Altezza Reale" in the body and superscripts of the letters and the use of the Cypriot coat-of-arms on the condition that his ambassadors would cede priority

to the Venetian ambassadors. Central to this chapter as in the previous, are the identities of Caterina and Charlotte and how their stories were used by Venice and Savoy. In fact, neither Savoy nor Venice was interested in the profiles of Charlotte and Caterina as such; rather, they wanted to use them for their benefits. But their shadows remained, as their names, lives and reigns were mentioned in correspondence between the two sides across the period.

The sources used in this chapter are again mainly archival. From Turin, these comprise the *Materie politiche-Estero* and *Negoziazioni Venezia* and *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro*. These sources provide information about Savoy's diplomatic efforts to achieve royal recognition and also details the negotiations between Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus across a long period of time. However, the *Archivi propri ambasciatori e ambasciate: Archivio proprio Savoia and Savoia-Torino* from Venice, surprisingly do not provide any relevant information. But, the *Consultori in Jure* are useful. They comprise a series of opinions of jurists and other consultants with access to the archives of Venice, covering the years between 1606 and 1797 and focusing on matters of high importance for Venice. Most relevantly for this thesis, there are legal opinions about the royal crown of Cyprus and the rights of Venice - it is a fundamental primary source. In addition to the above sources, there are other fundamental printed primary sources for this chapter. To start with, Pierre Monod's treatise (*Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Prencipe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri*) and Gasparo Giannotti's *Parere di Gasparo Giannotti Scritto al Signor Giulio Cesare Catelmi, sopra il Ristretto delle Revoluzioni del Reami di Cipri, e ragioni della Serenissima Casa di Savoia sopra di esso; insieme con un breve trattato del titolo Regale dovuto a S.A.Serenissima, stampati in Turino senza nome d Autore*. Monod presents the case for Savoy's claims to the kingdom, while the second one presents the counter case. Moreover, Guichenons's 1660 *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques* provides relevant information, alongside the *relazioni* produced by Venetian ambassadors.

Vittorio Amedeo and the struggle for the royal title

This part of the chapter starts in 1630, a landmark year in the Venetian-Savoyard “battle” over their royal claims. It was in this year that Pope Urban VIII ruled that all cardinals, except the ones of the emperor and kings, should only have the title “*eminentissimo*” and no longer the title “*illustrissimo*” as they used to have, because he wanted to distinguish the cardinals of the kings from those of inferior powers.¹ This decision precipitated a series of changes in Savoyard-Venetian relations over use of the royal title of Cyprus. In this intensely competitive period, Venice was determined that its cardinals should continue to enjoy the high status that they had enjoyed until 1630, ranking alongside crowned royal heirs. As a direct result of the pope’s decision, in the same year the republic closed the crown in its dogal coat of arms, to signal royal status.² The aim in part was to convince the papacy of what it felt was its customary status amongst Europe’s royalty, because of the royal title of Cyprus and its cardinals in Rome kept the title of “*illustrissimo*”.³ For its part, Savoy had to work hard to achieve that royal recognition. This part of the chapter addresses Duke Vittorio Amedeo I’s reign, the duke who claimed his right over the royal title of Cyprus. This claim was intended for both domestic and international consumption abroad, where Savoyard ambassadors “were expected to perform Savoy’s royalty through requesting royal protocols in Europe’s courts where they served”.⁴ Therefore, this part will analyse the means used for achieving royal recognition, including the iconographic closing of the crown, the genealogical rhetoric connecting the old Lusignan rulers to the dukes of Savoy, the use of royal titles and the coat of arms of Cyprus in coins, frontispieces of

¹ Samuel Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Books 1-2 (Lyon, 1660), p.896; Gustavo Mola di Nomaglio, “I Savoia e il regno di Cipro. Dispute e relazioni diplomatiche per conquistare il titolo regio” Caria, Francesco de and Taverna, Donatella, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997), 47; Elisa Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio. I Savoia e la corona di Cipro” in Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997), 62.

² Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.896; Nomaglio, “Savoia e Cipro”, 47, Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 62; Roberto Oresko, “The House of Savoy in search for a royal crown in the seventeenth century” in Roberto Oresko, G. C. Gibbs and H. M. Scott, eds., *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 279.

³ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.896.

⁴ Toby Osborne, “Language and Sovereignty: The Use of Titles and Savoy’s Royal Declaration of 1632” in *Medieval and Early Modern French Studies*, Vol. 14, Sarah Alyn Stacey, ed., *Political, Religious and Social Conflict in the States of Savoy, 1400-1700* (Bern, 2014), 28-29.

books and buildings, alongside the written polemics. Of course, the Venetian response will also be considered.

In Rome, the duke was driven in his royal ambitions, marked by the determination that his cardinal brother, Maurizio, would enjoy the title of “Altezza”. Without the title, Maurizio refrained from entering the papal city.⁵ Maurizio himself first claimed the title of “Altezza” in Rome in 1631, underlining that “he was not only a prince of the church but also the son of a sovereign”.⁶ Nonetheless, both Venice and the pope refused that title to Maurizio.⁷ However, Savoy’s diplomatic strategy was not daunted by these refusals; the Savoyard ambassador in Rome added outside all Savoy’s palaces in the city the title “king of Cyprus”.⁸ But, here the focus would not be on Rome, but on the direct “battle” between Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 1 (a). First face of the 1635 coin Of Vittorio Amedeo I, (b). Second face of the coin.

⁵ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.896; Nomaglio, “Savoia e Cipro”, 47.

⁶ Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years’ War* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.42-43.

⁷ Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 62.

⁸ Géraud Poumarède, “Deux Têtes pour une couronne: La rivalité entre la Savoie et Venise pour le titre royal de Chypre au temps de Christine de France”, *Dix-septième siècle*, No 262, Vol. 1 (2014), 55.

That aside, Vittorio Amedeo closed his crown in 1633.⁹ Introducing the royal crown of Cyprus, and replacing the open crown of the dukes of Savoy offered the potential for Savoy to demonstrate what it felt was its royalty. In short, there was a symbolic dimension to Savoy's royal campaign.¹⁰ This was the reason why the crown of Cyprus was also placed in the Savoyard coins with the phrase "rex Cipri" (king of Cyprus),¹¹ in frontispieces of books and in buildings.¹² For example, in the three dinar 1635 coin presented here, on the first face it is written V • AMED • D G • DUX • SAB • (Fig.1a) and in the other face PRIN • PED • REX • CYPRI (Fig.1b). Thus, Vittorio Amedeo I was the first duke of Savoy to use the title of the king of Cyprus on coins.

Furthermore, as the royal title became absolutely vital for the Savoyard duke, he initiated a campaign to justify his claim. On 23 December 1632, with the "*Trattamento Reale*" (Royal Treatment), Vittorio Amedeo I declared himself king of Cyprus including the crown of Lusignan Cyprus in the Savoyard coat of arms.¹³ In the edict he issued, he stated that

In order not to leave to posterity [of the claim], to attribute it as a mistake and to negligence in something so much important for the reputation of our Serene House, we have judged it appropriate to add to our ordinary coat of arms those of the kingdom of Cyprus [...] and with this declare that the mentioned kingdom, in spite of the fact that is violently occupied by the enemy of Christians [the Ottomans], it legally belongs to us, as the whole world knows, and for this reason we can use the title of the king and enjoy all the honours and prerogatives given to the royal dignity.¹⁴

Finally, on 1 January 1633, Vittorio Amedeo officially called himself king of Cyprus,¹⁵ arguing that he had been born a royal prince, and had not become

⁹ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.897.

¹⁰ Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy*, pp.236-237; Oresko, "Savoy in search", 272-274; Cesare Bibliotti, *Dei Rapporti della Repubblica di Venezia con la Casa di Savoia* (Venice, 1872), p.100.

¹¹ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 55.

¹² Oresko, "Savoy in search", 279-285.

¹³ Ibid., 272; Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 53; Osborne, Toby, "The Surrogate War" in *The International History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2007), 19; Vittorio Sperti, ed., *Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana: Famiglie nobili e titolate viventi riconosciute dal R. Governo d'Italia. Compresi: città, comunità, mense vescovili, abazie, parrocchie ed anti nobili e titolati riconosciuti*, Vol. I (Milan, 1928), p.237.

¹⁴ Oresko, "Savoy in search", 272: "Per non dar cagione alla posterità di attribuirci mancamento et negligenza in cosa tanto importante alla reputatione della nostra Serenissima Casa, habbiamo giudicato conveniente d'aggiungere alle nostri armi ordinarie, quelle del Regno di Cipro [...] et con esse dichiarare che il detto Regno, benchè violentemente occupato per l'inimico de'Cristiani, ci appartiene legittamente, come sa tutto il mondo, et che perciò noi possiamo portare il titolo di Re e godere di tutti gl'honori e prerogative devute alla dignità Regia".

¹⁵ Ibid., 272, Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 53; Osborne, "The Surrogate War", 19; Sperti, *Enciclopedia I*, p.237.

one by marriage, and that he had a higher status, even higher than that of duke of Florence, who had become grand-duke of Tuscany following Pope Pius V's brief reign,¹⁶ as seen previously.

Of course, Venice did not accept Savoy's claim, severing diplomatic contact.¹⁷ This time the Savoyard-Venetian "battle" intensified as the republic would not let Savoy take advantage of what Venice felt were its rights. Venice ordered its ambassadors around Europe "to remain watchful of any changes in the way Savoy's ambassadors acted or were treated".¹⁸ Although, Savoy was "fighting" to achieve royal recognition in the papal court, it seems as if it had already gained it from other states, albeit indirectly. In this regard epistolary language in correspondence between dukes of Savoy and other princes is revealing. Before 1633, in letters between the duke of Savoy and the Stuarts, the Bourbons and the Habsburgs, "Savoy's royalty was recognised by three of Europe's leading royal families, or at least recognized implicitly, just as Savoy itself used its royal claims implicitly". It should of course be noted that these three families had dynastic relations with Savoy. However, it should be added as to whether Savoy had informal recognition or not before 1633. After 1633 those other dynasties stepped back from signaling more formal acceptance of the claim, something that satisfied Venice.¹⁹

It is now evident how Vittorio Amedeo I sought to be accepted as a king. Additionally, a number of anonymous sources were written in order to justify Savoy's claim to the royal title of Cyprus, comprising a mixture of both officially and unofficially sponsored works as will be explained for each source individually. The most important work was published anonymously in 1633, the same year the Vittorio Amedeo started using the Cyprus royal title, with the title *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia*.²⁰ The author's identity is in fact known. He was Pierre Monod born in Bonneville in

¹⁶ Oresko, "Savoy in search", 290-291; Anonymous, *Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Jacques Lusignano* (Turin, 1594), 17v.

¹⁷ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, 897; Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 62.

¹⁸ Osborne, "Language and sovereignty", 26.

¹⁹ Ibid., 30-33.

²⁰ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 55-56.

1586, to George Monod, an advocate of the Senate of Savoy, and Nicoline de Pobel, a noble woman.²¹ In 1603, Pierre entered the *Collegio dei gesuiti di Chambéry*, and at a young age he began teaching in the *Collège La Roche-en-Genevois*, a position that made him so famous that the previous duke of Savoy Carlo Emanuele I sent him a congratulatory letter.²² In 1619, Vittorio Amedeo, then still as prince of Piemonte, married Marie Christine, a sister of Louis XIII of France.²³ In 1620, after their wedding, Monod wrote an historical polemic ordered and funded by the duchy, *Recherches historiques sur les alliances royales de France et de Savoye: où sont montrées plusieurs admirables rapports de ces deux Maisons et déduictes dix-neuf alliances, qui jusques à maintenant ont esté entre icelles*, published in Lyon in 1621.²⁴ Subsequently, Monod moved to Turin, and entered the ducal court,²⁵ serving as a political counsellor of the duke of Savoy²⁶ and confessor to Marie Christine.²⁷ Thereafter, he was ordered by the duke to write about the life of the Savoyard duke, Amedeo VIII also known as the antipope Felice V (r. 1439-1449), with his *Nacque così l'Amedeus Pacificus seu de Eugenii IV et Amedei Sabaudiae ducis in sua obedientia Felicis papae V nuncupati controversis commentarius*, published in Turin in 1624.²⁸ Then, Monod became the historiographer of the ducal court, also spending some time in France. Among his other works - obviously written to underscore Savoy's political status - was the *Essai historique sur la question si la Savoye estoit jadis et doit estre tenue aujourd'hui fief d'Empire* dating between 1629 and 1630. He was evidently trusted by the ducal couple, serving also as a diplomat.²⁹ In July 1631, he undertook a mission in Paris, and his duties included discussions about the royal title of Cyprus. However, that mission failed.³⁰ At the end of 1631, Monod returned to Savoy,

²¹ Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (2011).

²² Ibid.

²³ Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy*, p.39; Spreti, *Enciclopedia I*, p.237; Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 53.

²⁴ Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (2011).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Eleonora Navari, *Manuscripts and Rare Books 15th-18th century: From the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation* (Nicosia, 2010), p.246.

²⁷ Ibid., 246, Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (2011).; Eugenio Musatti, *Venezia e Casa Savoia* (Padua, 1889), pp.36-37; Bibliotti, *Rapporti*, p.100.

²⁸ Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (2011).

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

and thereafter the issue of the royal title was the main aim of the duchy. The duke ordered Monod to write a treatise explaining the history and politics behind his decision.³¹ Soon after, Monod's *Trattato* was printed in Turin with a clear aim to uphold the royal claim.³² It should be added, though, that in spite of all this work that Monod had done during Vittorio Amedeo's reign, the duke's death in October 1637 signalled the end of his political career.³³ In November 1637, Christine's brother, King Louis XIII of France (r. 1610-1643) wrote to his sister to remove him from the court as Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), the chief minister of France since 1624, was undermining him. The reason was that he believed that Monod was involved in a conspiracy against him.³⁴ Christine did remove Monod, he spent some years in prison, and died in Miolans in 1644.³⁵ He left many sources behind, including "two trunks of manuscripts", which were later found.³⁶

In the *Trattato*, Monod took the story from the origins of Savoy and explained why Savoy had the right to claim Cyprus's crown as the only *de jure* legitimate descendant of the kings of Cyprus. Following Charlotte and Louis' wedding, Louis accordingly became king of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. However, the newly-wed couple did not retain power for long, because, as Monod wrote, "[t]hat kingdom was unfairly and with violence occupied by the bastard Jacques, who overthrew Queen Charlotte, and her legitimate heirs, and successors against every power of justice and equity",³⁷ with the help of the sultan of Egypt.³⁸ By drawing attention to the fact that Jacques II was helped by an infidel ruler, Monod - like Pius in the fifteenth century - touched the sensitive issues of the Muslim-Christian relations. Jacques was helped by an infidel, and his actions in Cyprus are thus characterised as illegal. By contrast, Charlotte,

³¹ Ibid.

³² Osborne, "Language and Sovereignty", 17-18.

³³ Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (2011).

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Pierre Monod, *Trattato del Titolo Regio dovuto alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Insieme con un Ristretto delle Rivolutioni del Reame di Cipri appartenente alla Corona. Dell' altezza reale di Vittorio Amedeo Duca di Savoia, Principe di Piemonte, Re di Cipri* (Turin, 1633), p.41: "Quel Reame fù indebitamente e con violenza occupato, e posseduto dal Bastardo Giacomo, che ne spogliò la Regina Ciarlotta, e suoi legittimi heredi, e successori contra ogni forte di giustitia, et Equità".

³⁸ Ibid., p.13.

the legitimate Christian ruler had passed her rights of the throne to the Christian duchy of Savoy. This allowed Monod to underline that Savoy was the only legal heir of the throne in the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, Monod argued that Savoy had to claim its rights over the crown of Cyprus, despite the fact that Venice had claimed its rights first; here, he referred to Pope Urban VIII's decision to change the title of the cardinals from non-royal dynasties:

The Republic of Venice wanted to renew the memory of its pretensions, so it started taking the advantages amongst Christian princes, who are themselves crowned heads; accordingly, it was equally necessary for his highness [the duke of Savoy] to do the same, if he did not want to embarrass his name, by neglecting the conservation of the most just reasons of his House over that kingdom.³⁹

So, the royal claim is presented by Monod as something that had to be done, as no one should have doubted Savoy's royal authority.

Underscoring his case, he argued that Savoy had every right to use the royal title, drawing on the words of a contemporary legal specialist of Savoy, called Bagnafasco, who, as Monod wrote "[w]as a well grounded jurist, who was talking about the Serene Carlo Emanuele of glorious memory, who was succeeded by Vittorio Amedeo, as his son and universal heir".⁴⁰ Bagnafasco underlined that dukes of Savoy were the only *de jure* owners of Cyprus, by arguing that "[N]o reason has been acquired to the mentioned possessors and holders [of the royal title of Cyprus], neither was it abdicated in any way from good reasons of the Princes of the Serene House of Savoy, as that possession was for thousands of years [...] and certainly is *de jure*".⁴¹ Moreover, Bagnafasco explained why Carlo Emanuele and Savoy, in spite of the fact that

³⁹ Ibid., pp.77-78: "La Serenissima di Venetia Volesse rinovare la memoria delle sue pretentioni, e quindi cavare gli vantaggi trà i Prencipi Christiani che sono propri delle Teste Coronate, era parimente necessario, che S.A. facesse l'istesso, se non Voleva lasciare quella macchia al suo nome, di havere trascurata conservazione delle giustissime ragioni della sua Casa sopra quel Reame".

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.41: "Bagnafasco famoso Dottore de Leggi in questa città, conchiuse il trattato, ch'ei fece di questa materia, nella maniera, che segue, la quale hò Voluto ritenere per essere lo stile suo di puro, e ben fornado Giurista, ch'egli parlava del Serenissimo Carlo Emanuel di Gloriosa memoria, al quale il Serenissimo Vittorio Amedeo hà succeduto come suo figliuolo, et herede universale".

⁴¹ Ibid., p.42: "Non si è acquistata a detti possessori e detentori ragione alcuna, ne derogato mai in veruna parte alle buone ragioni de Prencipi della Serenissima Casa di Savoia, etiam che tal possesso fosse per migliaia d'anni, perche sempre dura il vizio dello spoglio, [...], come è cosa certissima in iure".

the island of Cyprus was occupied, had “legitimate reasons” to claim its crown. “[T]he reasons over the said kingdom [of Cyprus] always remained secure, incorruptible and entire to the ancestors of the mentioned Serene Duke [of Savoy], and nowadays they are close to him, so consequently he can use the nomination, title and royal pre-eminence”.⁴² It is understandable that in Carlo Emanuele I’s latter years, although he had not claimed officially the royal title of Cyprus, the issue was a live one.

Thereafter, Monod compared Savoy’s case and its claim to Cyprus’s royal title with other states (the kings of England, France, Poland, Hungary, and the dukes of Anjou and Lorraine⁴³), arguing through historical precedence that this case belonged to a broader category of rulers using titles without territorial possession. Monod’s aim was to demonstrate that Savoy’s position was not unique. Thus, Monod strengthened his opinion that Savoy was not the only state that had a royal title without having control over its kingdom; it had precedents. Accordingly, Monod asked “[W]ho could blame the dukes of Savoy if in imitation of so many princes; they called themselves titled kings of Cyprus, as they enjoy every right reason over it?”⁴⁴

Monod also elaborated indirectly why Savoy could claim the royal title of Cyprus. The first statement was that dukes of Savoy should be allowed to use the royal title and that other powers should accord them royal dignity, and consequently the dukes could also use the royal crown and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom of Cyprus as the Lusignan rulers had done.⁴⁵ Secondly, Monod suggested that Savoy was demanding, with reason, a place amongst the kings of Christendom:

Even in the courts of the pope, of the emperor, and of kings, as well as in the public events, the Serene Duke of Savoy must be placed amongst Christian kings and above all the other princes of second grade dignity,

⁴² Ibid., pp.41-42: “le ragioni sopra detto Regno sono sempre restare salve, illese, et intiere appresso gli Antecessori del detto Serenissimo Duca, et hoggidi sono appresso di lui, conseguentemente può usare di nominatione, Titolo, e preminenza Regia”.

⁴³ Ibid., p.43.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.44: “Chi potrà biasimare i Duchi di Savoia se ad imitatione di tanti Prencipi si diranno Rè Titolari di Cipro, poiche a loro soli appartiene ogni giusta ragione sopra di esso”.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.44.

and he should also be given the place and the seat that was given and used by the [Lusignan] kings of Cyprus, according to the ceremonial registries of Rome [because of Charlotte's 1485 bequest to Carlo I].⁴⁶

Thirdly, Monod underlined that Savoyard ambassadors should be welcomed in other courts as royal ambassadors:

Similarly the ambassadors of the said Duke of Savoy must be received as royal ambassadors and have a place among the ambassadors of the Crowned Heads; and particularly in Rome they must be received and heard in *Sala Regia*, the place dedicated for audiences of royal ambassadors and princes who have the first grade of dignity.⁴⁷

To strengthen his opinion, Monod adduced that the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (r. 138-161) had said that the provisions about kingdoms and baronies of the ancient law were not to be changed, not even honourably.⁴⁸ Accordingly, Monod underlined that no state should gain priority against Savoy, if it did not already have it. Otherwise, that would be against that old, but fundamental, law.

Monod's treatise was the most substantive and well-known polemic written in support of Savoy's royal claim, but it was not the only one. Strikingly, there were two more anonymous sources written in support of Savoy in this period, though it is difficult to date them precisely. The *Discorso et Istoria della Successione dell' Isola e Regno di Cipro dedicata alla Serenissima Infanta Donna Catterina d'Austria, Duchessa di Savoia*, as its title suggests was dedicated to the duchess of Savoy Caterina (r. 1585-1597), wife of the former duke, Carlo Emanuele I, and mother of Vittorio Amedeo I. Written in manuscript form, it has many similarities with the source of Monod. In fact, in some parts it is almost identical, though the exact date of when this source was written is not known.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.44: "Quindi è ancora che nelle Corti del Papa, dell'Imperatore, e de i Rè, e ne gli atti pubblici, è dovuto al Serenissimo Duca di Savoia luogo frà li Rè Christiani, e sopra tutti li Principi di dignità in secondo grado, e frà i Ré se gli deve luogo e sede, che si dava, e sollevano havere li Rè di Cipri secondo che si vede ne'Registri cerimoniali di Roma".

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.44: "Quindi anco è che gl'Ambasciatori di ditto Signor Duca di Savoia devono essere ricevuti come Ambasciatori Regii, & havere luogo frà Ambasciatori di Teste Coronate, e particolarmente in Roma devono essere ricevuti, e sentiti nella Sala Regia, luogo deputato per dare udienza alli Ambasciatori delli Rè, e Principi che tengono il primo grado di dignità".

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.55.

As with Monod, it underlined the connections between Savoy and Queen Charlotte, to bolster the arguments for the duchy as a kingdom. The work added that Charlotte twice formally donated her title to Savoy. The first when she visited her parents-in-law in Savoy in June 1462 and then in 1485, when she left it formally in Rome to Carlo I,⁴⁹ as discussed earlier. The anonymous author also tried to explain why no other Savoyard duke had claimed rights over Cyprus before Carlo Emanuele I. As he noted, all the duke's predecessors had intended firstly to restore the kingdom and then to benefit from the royal title.⁵⁰ Tellingly, Jacques II was never described as a king but is rather mentioned as "the Tyrant King",⁵¹ thereby suggesting, albeit indirectly, that he was not *de jure* king. Thus, the anonymous author tried to underline that the Savoyard dukes deserve to enjoy all the prerogatives that the Lusignan kings used to have, although they were not ruling Cyprus. Of course, this is something that Monod had similarly argued.

Again, like Monod, the anonymous author continued focusing, in his treatment of recent history, on the Savoyard-Venetian rivalry over Cyprus's royal title. The anonymous author, like Monod, emphasised that the duke was a king:

It is right that in the courts of the pope, emperor and of kings, and in the public events, his highness should be given a place among the Christian kings, and above the princes of second grade, and among the kings [the duke of Savoy] has to be given a place and a seat that was given and customarily used by the kings of Cyprus and that should be their place, it should be clarified by the books and the ceremonial registers of Rome.⁵²

Furthermore, as with Monod's source, the anonymous work observed that "[t]he ambassadors of his highness should be received as royal ambassadors and have a place among the ambassadors of the crown heads, and in Rome especially they have to be received and seated in *Sala Regia*, the place designated for the presentation and audience of the ambassadors of the kings

⁴⁹ AST RC, Mazzo 1, 3: *Discorso*, 11r-12r.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 21v.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 9v-10v.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 23r: "Quindi è dong. che nelle corti dil Papa, Imperatore, et de i Re, negli atti publici he dovuto à S.A. luogo fra li Re Christiani, et sopra tutti li principi di dignita in secondo grado, et fra i Re, se gli deve il luogo, et sede che si dava et solevano haver li Rè di Cypro, et qual fosse il luoro logo, si potra achiarire per li libri, et registri cerimoniali di Roma".

and princes who have the first grade of dignity”.⁵³ Finally, the anonymous author condemned the new title given to the duke of Tuscany and argued that Savoy’s title was older and more valuable:

So finally, the presumption of precedence of the duke of Tuscany above his highness and above the serene House of Savoy, because of the new creation of the title of grand-duke is unjustifiable, and with his importation is considered as rash, given the said reasons of the royal dignity, so therefore it is superfluous to procure any declaration of the emperor for this case. In fact, it is also said that when the duchy of Florence might be erected as a kingdom, and the grand duke might be created king of Tuscany, he would still be not able to claim precedence over the Serene Princes of Savoy, as they have anterior dignity and title of a king and they are born kings, not made or created. Besides, there are many other reasons that are omitted, because they are not needed.⁵⁴

To emphasise the royal connection between Savoy and the old Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, the anonymous author included in his source a genealogical tree (Fig.2), demonstrating that the dukes of Savoy were blood related with the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, as Charlotte’s other in-law was also her aunt. The first Lusignan king mentioned is Jacques I (r. 1382-1398), and the second one was his son Janus (r. 1398-1432). Janus was succeeded by his son Jean (r. 1432-1458), the father of the bastard as he is described, Jacques II and Charlotte, mentioned in the tree as both queen of Cyprus and also wife of Louis of Savoy. At the same time, King Janus mentioned above, had a daughter as well, Anne of Lusignan, who as mentioned in the genealogical tree, was also wife of Louis, duke of Savoy, mother of Louis, king of Cyprus, and husband of Queen Charlotte. She is presented also as the mother of two dukes of Savoy, Amadeus (r. 1465-1472) and Filippo (r. 1496-1497). The bloodline, via her son Filippo, continued up to the present duke, Vittorio Amedeo. So, this genealogical tree clearly connects the duchy with the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus, not only because of the will of Charlotte, but also because of Anne of Lusignan

⁵³ Ibid., 23r: “Li ambasciatori di S. Alt.a devono essere ricevuti come ambasciatori regii et haver luogo fra ambasciatori de cappi coronati, et particolar.te in Roma devono esser ricevuti et sentiti da soa s.ta nella Sala Regia, loco deputato per la presentatione, et videnza alli ambasciatori delli Re et principi che tengano il primo grado di dignita”.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 23v-24r: “Quindi final.te è, che la pretendenza dil Ducca di Toscana di precedenza sopra soa Alt.a et Ser.ma casa di Savoya per la nova creatione et titolo di gran Ducca, è indebita, et con su portatione è giudicata di temerita, stante le ragioni sudette di dignita regale, è perciò è superfluo procurate alcuna dichiarazione dal Imperatore per tal causa; Anzi si dice di piu, che quando il Duccato di Firenze fosse eretto in regno, et il gran Ducca si creasse Rè di Toscana, non però ancora potrebbe pretendere precedenza sopra li Ser.mi principi di Savoya, per che essi hano anteriormente dignita, et titolo di Rè, et sono nati Rè, non fatti, ne creati, oltre moltè altrè ragioni, quali si omettono, perche non è il bisogno”.

and her blood relations. This is clear evidence of Vittorio Amedeo' strategy in demonstrating that he was royal because of Charlotte's will and blood relation to the Lusignan rulers through Anne.

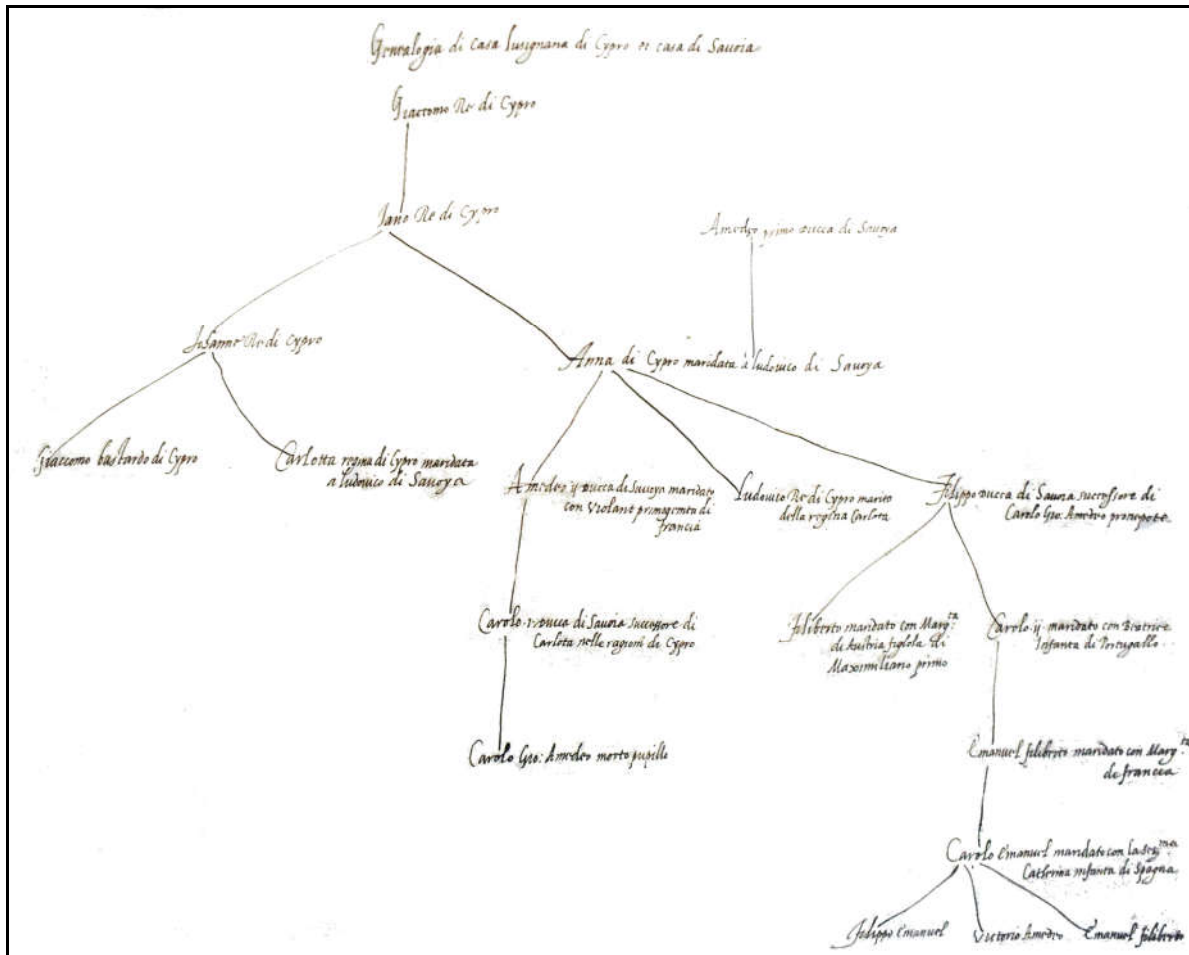


Fig. 2 Genealogical tree of the Lusignan House of Cyprus and the House of Savoy.

The second anonymous text, the *Discorso di un anonimo sovra le differenze colla Repubblica di Venezia per il titolo Regio assunto dal Duca di Savoia*, was also in manuscript form and seems to date from the reign of Duke Carlo Emanuele II (r. 1638-1675), but as it describes the period of Vittorio Amedeo I, it is placed here. The author's central contention is that Cyprus's

royal title was first used by Vittorio Amedeo and his son,⁵⁵ but the previous dukes had not done so as they were patiently waiting for the right time to do so.⁵⁶ Vittorio Amedeo's aim by claiming the royal title was to ensure parity with Venice,⁵⁷ arguing that he was born a prince, while his royal title was ancient:

The House of Savoy claims superiority over other Italian dukes, with the foundation of the states that he possesses from antiquity and the continuous greatness of loftiness of his blood and purity, which were never contaminated; and finally, the most ancient and imperial lineage, by which [the duke] derives, without the need for begging for it, from imaginary titles of states, to which he could not even reasonably aspire, as well as possess.⁵⁸

Additionally, it is understandable that the duke of Savoy not only wanted the royal title, but also was planning to take Cyprus. As the anonymous author wrote, the duke "[c]ould expel the Turks from Cyprus with the justice of the arms, a much more powerful [justice] than the one of the books and with the [military] service in the East, he could offer to Christianity".⁵⁹ The information can be connected with the fact that in July 1632 the Cypriot Theofilos, priest-monk and abbot of the monastery of St Mary (Panayia) of Nicosia, wrote a letter to Duke Vittorio Amedeo suggesting he should retake Cyprus claiming, "[I] was begged lots and lots of times by my compatriots and ordered by my nation, who is the archbishop of Cyprus [...] and many others".⁶⁰ These comments are noteworthy, possibly suggesting that a significant number of Cypriots, including members of the elites, principally the archbishop, wanted the duke as their ruler and that they petitioned him via that letter to take control of the island as the legitimate heir, because of Charlotte's donation. As Theofilos continues, the Cypriots wanted him "[t]o take them out of the hands of the Muslims and to be

⁵⁵ AST NV, Mazzo 3, 6: *Discorso di un anonimo sovra le differenze colla Repubblica di Venezia per il titolo Regio assunto dal Duca di Savoia*, 1r.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 1v.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 4r: "Il Duca pretende parità con la Republica con l'accrescimento del titolo che ricerca da essa; o pure pretende solamente di esser con il titolo contradistinto con superiorità dagli altri Principi Italiani".

⁵⁸ Ibid., 6r-6v: "La Casa di Savoia pretenda superiorità sopra li altri Duchi Italiani con il fondamento degli stati, che possiede dell'antica, e sempre continuata sua grandezza della sublimità del suo sangue e purità, non mai contaminata; e finalmente del lignaggio antichissimo et imperatorio, di dove deriva, senza haver bisogno di mendicarla da titoli immaginari di stati, alli quali non può neanche ragionevolmente aspirar d'arrivare con il pensiero, nonchè con il possesso".

⁵⁹ Ibid., 6v: "potere scacciare il Turco di Cipro, la Giustitia dell'armi, assai più potente di quella dei libri, et il servitio di levante, che presterebbe alla Christianità".

⁶⁰ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 10, 9r: "Εγώ εβρίσκομε παρακαλεμενος πολλές κε πολλές φορές από πολλούς συντοπήτες κε παραγκελμένος από το γένος μου, ης ίνε ο αρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου [...] κε άλλοι πολλί".

his servants for ever and I beg the God for that every day and night”.⁶¹ Although it is not known if this letter was just one of many that are now lost; it was a call to the duke of Savoy to take control of Cyprus from the inhabitants of the island, and if we connect it to the information given by the anonymous Savoyard source, it seems like Duke Vittorio Amedeo I did not only start using Cyprus’s title and the coat of arms, but probably wanted also to assume direct control of the kingdom.

Having considered Savoy’s perspective, it is time to see Venice’s reactions. Soon after Monod published his treatise, both Venice and Florence responded.⁶² For its part, Venice underlined its displeasure.⁶³ It was obvious again that republic would not let Savoy take the royal title of Cyprus easily or risk its own interests. This position is evident when we examine the opinions of Gasparo Giannotti and those of a selection of legal specialists. In terms of Giannotti, there is not too much information about him. As he proclaimed himself, he originated from Tuscany; it is possible that he was not a real person, and equally that he was not working for Venice but for the Medici court.⁶⁴ Focusing on his treatise, the work explored whether descendants of Caterina Cornaro or Charlotte of Lusignan had the right to be called “kings of Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia”. According to Giannotti, on the first hand Charlotte’s rights were finally transferred to Carlo Emanuele I,⁶⁵ but at the same time, Jacques’s rights passed via his wife Caterina to her relatives who claimed them as well,⁶⁶ that is to say the claim passed to Venice. Giannotti personally believed that Caterina’s inheritance was the stronger. To support his opinion, he specified that both Charlotte and Jacques had been to Egypt to convince the sultan to make the right choice about which of them should be the ruler of Cyprus, and the sultan supported Jacques. This paved the way for Charlotte to

⁶¹ Ibid., 9r: “Να τους εβγάλῃς ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τῶν ἀγαρινῶν κε θέλουν ἔστω πάντῳτε σκλάβι σου καὶ παρακαλὸν ἡμέραν καὶ νίκσταν τὸν Θεόν”.

⁶² Andrea Merlotti, “Pierre Monod” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (Ebook, 2011).

⁶³ Alvise Sagredo, “Relazione di Savoia” in Luigi Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), 318.

⁶⁴ Andrea Merlotti, “Pierre Monod” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (Ebook, 2011).

⁶⁵ Gasparo Giannotti, *Parere di Gasparo Giannotti Scritto al Signor Giulio Cesare Catelmi, sopra il Ristretto delle Revoluzioni del Reami di Cipri, e ragioni della Serenissima Casa di Savoia sopra di esso; insieme con un breve trattato del titolo Regale dovuto a S.A.Serenissima, stampati in Turino senza nome d Autore* (Frankfurt am Main, 1633), p.244.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.7.

surrender her power from 1460, leaving Jacques in power for thirteen years until his sudden death in 1473. Subsequently, the widow Caterina ruled from 1473 until 1489, when she left for Venice. As Giannotti underlined, the island had been ruled for twenty-nine years by Jacques and Caterina. By contrast, Charlotte and Louis's descendents had no serious reason to claim Cyprus as Charlotte had already lost her kingdom, while Jacques and Caterina were approved by the sultan, and had also governed the island for years.⁶⁷ So,

[N]ow, if King Jacques was among the good or among the bad [rulers], and if by human justice or hidden judgments of God he was preferred in the kingdom instead of Charlotte, it is neither my intention [in this source] nor is it appropriate for me to declare: I know well that he could keep his kingdom as he was given the declaration of the sultan, so right and legitimate became everything that he had done that was unjust and illegitimate, or at least that it was not that evident and notorious that he had no [great] reason [so far to become the king] in the kingdom [of Cyprus], in a manner that no one could succeed him [in the kingdom] or at least [succeed his] such an apparent [royal] title of a declaration to be preferred as the sovereign lord.⁶⁸

This was a direct refutation of Monod's claims that Jacques was a bastard usurper of the throne who never had the right to be called a king. Here he is presented as a legitimate king who governed for years.

Giannotti, supporting Venice, countered those who argued that Caterina Cornaro was not a Cypriot, and that she had no right to rule the island, while Charlotte did. He responded by claiming that when Charlotte's father was on the throne, the person who was actually ruling was his wife, Eleni Palaeologina, a Byzantine princess without any connections with Cyprus, just like Caterina. But, so Giannotti argued, in spite of the fact that Caterina enjoyed some support from within Cyprus and ruled accordingly, Eleni was the opposite: she governed in a dictatorial manner and never allowed her husband, the legal ruler, to make any decision. As Giannotti wrote, "[i]n that kingdom [of Cyprus] the sores of

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.7-9.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.12-13: "Ora, se il Re Giacomo fosse tra I buoni, ò tra I malvagi, e se per giustizia humana, ò occulti giudizi d'Iddio, fosse preferito nel Regno a Carlotta, non è mio intendimento, ne a me s'appartiene di dichiarare: credo bene che il suo Regno, stante la dichiarazione del Soldano, si possa tenere, che sia stato giusto, e legittimo, tutto che egli ingiusto, et illegittimo fosse, ò almeno, che non fosse così evidente, e notorio, che egli niuna ragione nel Regno havesse, di maniera, che non possa chi a lui è succeduto almeno con tale titolo apparente d'una dichiarazione del Sovrano Signore, havere preferitto".

womanish government were still fresh, remembering that Queen Eleni [Palaeologina] ruled indiscreetly the kingdom and the poor king, her husband [King Jean II of Lusignan]”.⁶⁹ Giannotti thus tried to prove that in the Lusignan dynasty, Caterina was unique as a foreign queen. By comparing Eleni to Caterina, the latter was preferred for Cyprus and its people.

As already analysed, Monod discussed examples of various rulers who had faced exile, but had not consequently lost their royal titles and sovereign status to prove that Charlotte's case was not unique. In response to Monod's point that Savoy claimed the royal title of Cyprus without actual possession of the territory, and that other European princes had been called kings without possessing associated lands, Giannotti presented similar examples from European history to prove that the case of Caterina and Jacques II's case was not unique either. Henry (Enrique), the young king of Castile (r. 1214-1217) died suddenly without having any children. His will was for his older sister, Blanche, married to the French king Louis VIII (r. 1223-1226), to take his place. However, this did not happen as the youngest sister Berengaria (Berenguela), married Alfonso IX, the king of León (r. 1188-1230) and succeeded Henry.⁷⁰ Moreover, Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine (r. 977-993) afforded Giannotti with another case study. When both his brother, King Lothaire of France (r. 954-986), and his nephew, the young Louis V king of France (r. 986-987) died, he was supposed to take the throne. However, Hugh Capet (r. 987-996) became the new ruler, as Charles allied with the Germans and was generally not accepted by the French.⁷¹ In a third example, King Sancho Garcès III was the king of Pamplona and the count of Aragon (r. 1004-1035) and before his death, he divided his lands amongst his sons. His legitimate son García Sánchez became the king of Pamplona (r. 1035-1054), while his older, but illegitimate son, Ramiro I, in spite of the fact that he had no rights to become a ruler, received the county of Aragon and became the first king of Aragon (r. 1035-1063).⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.9: “Erano ancora in quel Regno fresche le piaghe del governo donnesco, ricordandosi, che la Regina Elena governava indiscretamente lo stato, e quel povero Re suo marito”.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.10.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.10.

⁷² Ibid., pp.11-12.

With the weight of these precedents, Giannotti pushed his argument that the cases of Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro were not unique, and that Savoy accordingly did not deserve the royal title of Cyprus via Charlotte's donation back in the fifteenth century. It might be added that the fact that both Monod and Giannotti were developing their arguments based on precedents might suggest that there were no clear "rules" as to who had the right to be called king of Cyprus. Thus, the issue was open to who could develop the best argument. In this seventeenth-century juxtaposition between Monod and Giannotti, the precise details of Charlotte and Caterina as queens regnant of Cyprus did not seem particularly important. What seemed to matter were their titles and the rights they passed to Savoy from Charlotte and to Venice from Caterina, not their capacities as queens.

In response to Giannotti, a second anonymous version of Monod's source was published⁷³ entitled *Trattato del Titolo e Prerogative Regie dovute alla Real Casa di Savoia, insieme con la risposta alle opposizioni fatte alla prima impressione*. Although this *Trattato* is ostensibly anonymous, it is known that Monod was again the author.⁷⁴ In contrast to his principal work, Monod this time argued that both the states had rights over the same crown, so both could claim those rights and benefit from them:

Thus here one sees that the Serene Venice claims rightly the title and the royal prerogatives [from the royal crown of Cyprus], by the same reasons are given to the royal House of Savoy. And this is no less differentiated in the honours in all the other [states] of Italy, of the same Republic or his doge. By which one will conclude with what foundation Vittorio Amedeo I who added to his other titles that of the king, [a title coming] possessed from his elders [dukes] and that he rightly inherited. [Besides], it is not reasonable that he is restricted from the opportunities of inheritance of a prosperous area [meaning Cyprus and its royal title]. In this way for the above reasons, he is amongst the cases of grandchildren deprived of their hereditary succession.⁷⁵

⁷³ Andrea Merlotti, "Pierre Monod" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 75 (Ebook, 2011).

⁷⁴ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 11: Pierre Monod, *Altro Trattato del Titolo e Prerogative Regie dovute alla Real Casa di Savoia, con la risposta alle opposizioni fatte dal Giannotti al Primo Trattato*, p.1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 7: "Quà dunque si vedrà. Che se la Serenissima di Venetia pretenda giustamente il Titolo, e Prerogative Regie, per le medesime cagioni sono dovute alla Real Casa di Savoia. E che questa non è meno stata differenziata nelle honoranze da tutte le altre d'Italia, che la medesima Republica, ò suo Doge. Dal che si conchiuderà con quanto fondamento il Serenissimo Vittorio Amedeo alli altri suoi Titoli habbia aggiunto quello di Rè, dalli suoi Maggiori

Besides, as Monod continued, Savoy was not demanding a derogation of Venice's power by claiming its rights. "[E]specially since the pretensions of Savoy do not diminish any of those of Venice, on the contrary that of the superior which was in the past, it suffices to remain a companion, letting [Venice] also superiority, as [Savoy] recognised the fraternity".⁷⁶ He added that Savoy might thereby also gain what it really wanted in the seventeenth century, that is to say parity with Venice, as both had the same rights:

Now with all this, our question is not whether the pope, the emperor, the king of France, the Catholic King, the doge of Venice must give priority to Savoy over Venice, just like their predecessors used to give. [...] Venice rightly had and still has these honours and royal prerogatives, for the dignity that it possessed a hundred years ago. But, they cannot rightly deny the same honours and royal prerogatives to Savoy, a state that is not inferior in anything to the one it possessed then, he was given precedence over Venice by everyone. Indeed, it should be estimated as greatly increased, for the quality of a prince of the blood of Spain, and because of the potential to succeed to that crown, which is found in the person of the Serene Vittorio Amedeo I, presently reigning.⁷⁷

Having considered these pro-Savoyard polemics, it is time to present some Venetian sources, principally written by legal commentators, which demonstrate that Venice would not let Savoy use the royal title of Cyprus, as the republic believed that this was its prerogative alone. The fact that legal specialists were employed to present their opinions clearly suggests that the question of who had the right to the royal title had become a significant issue for Venice. The Brescian Lodovico Baitelli, who had studied law at the university of Padua,⁷⁸ together with Scipione Feramosca, a noble from Vicenza who had studied in Padua,⁷⁹ became *consultori* (consultants) for Venice, being asked by

posseduto, e da esso giustamente hereditato, non essendo ragionevole, che per gli accidenti d'una area fortuna ne venghi spogliato. Perindignum enim est fortuitas ob causas, vet casus humanos Nepotes avita successione privari".

⁷⁶ Ibid., 9: "Tanto piu che le Pretentioni di Savoia non tolgono cosa alcuna a Venetia, anzi che quella di superiore ch'era anticamente, si contenta di restar compagna, lasciandole anco la maggioranza, purché riconosca la fratellanza".

⁷⁷ Ibid., 89-90: "Ora con tutto questo, la nostra quistione non è se il Papa, l'Imperatore, il Rè di Francia, il Cattolico, il Duca di Venetia debbino dare adesso la precedenza a Savoia sopra Venetia, come facevano i loro Predecessori. [...] Le meritamente si dovevano, e si debbono le honoranze, e Prerogative Reali a Venetia, per la dignità, ch'ella possedeva cent'anni fa, non si puonno giustamente negare le medesime honoranze e Prerogative Reali a Savoia, il cui stato non è in niente deteriore a quello ch'essa possedeva allora, quando da tutti gli era data la Precedenza a Venetia, anzi molto accresciuta si deve stimare per la qualità di Principe del sangue di Spagna, e capacità di succedere a quella Corona la quale si ritrova nella persona del Serenissimo Vittorio Amedeo hoggidi regnante".

⁷⁸ Gino Benzoni, "Lodovico Baitelli" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 5 (1963).

⁷⁹ Giambattista Vendramini Mosca, *Biblioteca, e storia di quegli scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza che pervennero fin ad ora a notizia del Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria Carmelitano Scalzo Vicentino*, Vol. VI (Vicenza, 1782), pp.ci-cii.

the republic to provide professional legal advice in support of Venice's claims to Cyprus's royal title. As a result, the two consultants wrote various sources between 1633 and 1635 analysing the validity of the claims of the Savoyard duke, Vittorio Amedeo I.

In terms of Cyprus, the two authors explained how Venice's acquisition of the kingdom had taken place legally, so Savoy had no rights over it and its royal title. More specifically, they argued that Charlotte never had the authority to pass Cyprus to Savoy as it was never an independent kingdom, but was firstly a fief of the sultan of Egypt, and then of the Turks.⁸⁰ Accordingly, the two authors sought to demonstrate that the decisions of the Lusignan rulers, including Charlotte, Jacques II and Caterina Cornaro, had to be approved by the sultan, who had declared Jacques as king of Cyprus,⁸¹ a decision that had to be respected, even after almost two centuries had passed. Besides, as they continued, by tradition, the Lusignan dynasty practised inheritance through the male line,⁸² so again Jacques II was the more legitimate candidate. Given this evidence, so the *consultori* wished to argue, it is understandable that Jacques II was not a usurper of the throne. Charlotte died after forfeiting her status as queen, and thus had no right to convey the kingdom and title of Cyprus to Duke Carlo I of Savoy. Aside from the sultan, "[n]o one can transfer the right that Charlotte does not have, as she was not a queen, so royal status could not be given to the duke [of Savoy]".⁸³ Moreover, the *consultori* add that "[T]he transaction was made in 1462 and the donation in 1486, times in which the Queen (Charlotte) was already removed from the Kingdom. [...] So, how could she settle to donate that [kingdom] which she did not have?"⁸⁴

What is more, Venice took control of the island after the sultan had given his approval:

⁸⁰ ASV CJ, 568, 18r.

⁸¹ Ibid., 90v.

⁸² Ibid., 337v.

⁸³ Ibid., 343v: "Nessuno può trasferire la ragione che non ha Carlotta che non fu regina, alcuna regia non può dare al duca".

⁸⁴ Ibid., 351v: "La transattione è fatta 1462; et la Donatione 1485. tempi nei quali la Regina (Carlotta) era già cacciata dal Regno. [...] Come puosa adunque transigere di donare quello que non haveva?"

The reason of the possession of the Lusignans was as a result of the sultan. The reason of the possession of the [Venetian] Republic was also as a result of the sultan. Therefore, the title was legitimately with the Republic. By contrast, the title that did not exist, does not. There is not any succession either in Charlotte or in the authors, by whom the Duke [of Savoy] explains his reasons. In fact, Charlotte was denied by contrary judges. Therefore, if she was not, she is not. So, the duke of Savoy is not king.⁸⁵

Baitelli and Feramosca thus demonstrate that Charlotte committed a number of legal errors following her loss of the throne, and clearly suggest that being in exile, Charlotte was no longer a queen, and had forfeited her authority after the superior authority of the island had delivered his decision. Moreover, while in exile, she had not convinced the feudal overlord of her case, and even the act of passing her rights to Savoy was not conducted legally.

In sharp contrast to their treatment of Charlotte's juridical position, Baitelli and Feramosca sought to argue that Caterina Cornaro had followed more correct legal steps. To start with, after the deaths of Jacques II and Jacques III, the crown of Cyprus passed to Caterina with the sultan's approval, as she was already a queen, wife of the one king and mother of the other king.⁸⁶ With the accumulation of these dynastic assets, Caterina was accordingly presented as the legitimate queen of Cyprus who did nothing legally wrong. Moreover, when she returned to Venice, at the republic's behest, she freely donated the kingdom to Venice, with the sultan's approval.⁸⁷ Once again, therefore, Venice was presented by Baitelli and Feramosca as enjoying the more legitimate legal position regarding Cyprus.

Pushing these arguments further, Baitelli and Feramosca wrote that the dukes of Savoy were accordingly never kings of Cyprus, and thus could not use its royal title. As they explain, "[t]o be called a king, it is not enough to have pretensions to a kingdom; it is necessary to possess a kingdom or used to have it, or have an undisputable title, or if the title is obscure to have the declaration

⁸⁵ Ibid., 337r. "La causa del possedere dei Lusignani fu di successitura del soldano. La causa del possedere della Repubblica fu parimente la successitura. Adunque il Titolo che era legittamente è nella Repubblica. All'incontro il titolo che non fu, non è. Non fu successitura alcuna ne in Carlotta ne in scrittadelle quali il Ducca trasce le sue ragioni, anzi a Carlotta contraddittorii giudicici fu negata; Adunque se non fu non è; Adunque il Duca di Savoia non è Re".

⁸⁶ Ibid., 325v, 430r.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 325v, 444r-444v.

of possession, or finally to have a declaration of a high status lord”.⁸⁸ Through the accumulation of political and legal arguments, and according to historical precedents, they argued that Savoy was not a royal kingdom, as “[t]he titles given to the duke of Savoy do not infer royal treatment, nor any special honour among other princes”.⁸⁹ “A place amongst kings was given in ceremonials to the kings of Cyprus. However, the ceremonials do not include the duke of Savoy, and they will only call him [king] when he will have legitimately the kingdom, [something that is] certain though very difficult, if not impossible, to his glorified greatness”.⁹⁰

Clearly, for Baitelli and Feramosca royal titles could only be given to those in possession of a kingdom or those who once possessed a kingdom. On the first hand, as they wrote, Venice met that expectation, as it had previously controlled Cyprus from 1489 until 1571, as discussed in Part 1 of the thesis: “[T]he royal title legitimately is not given to the one that is honoured with the title of the king, but to the one who effectively possesses or has possessed kingdoms [...]. Before the counts of Savoy affected or ambioned Royal titles without being kings, the Republic [of Venice] was pardon of kingdoms”.⁹¹ By contrast, no duke of Savoy had ever enjoyed the title of king of Cyprus. “[T]he author [Monod] calls the duke of Savoy “king”, but he was never crowned as a king, nor has he ever possessed the kingdom”.⁹² Neither had Savoy ever used the royal title of Cyprus before. Focusing on the case of Monod, they write that the reasons given in favour of Savoy’s royalty were not in themselves sufficient. As they explained “we have found lots of things that were inventions, or not true, or altered, or offensive, or expressed with artifice. All of them directed to

⁸⁸ Ibid., 348r: “Per chiamarsi Re non farlo haver pretentioni ad un Regno; bisogna haver il Regno, o haverlo poseduto, o haverne Titolo indubidato, o se il Titolo è oscuro haver la dichiarazione del possesso, o finalmente qualche dichiarazione del sig. dell’alto”.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 326r: “Li titoli datti al Duca di Savoia, no inferiscono trattamento Reale, ne alcun special honore fra gli altri Prencipi”.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 351v: “Alli Re di Cipro nei Ceremoniali era dato luogo fra li Rè, ma li Ceremonial non chiamano il Duca di Savoia, et all’hora solamente lo chiamaranno, quando legitimamente havrà conseguito il Regno, certo però molto difficile per non dir impossibile alla sua magnificata grandezza”.

⁹¹ Ibid., 54r: “Il titolo regio legitimamente è dovuto non a che è stato horonato con Titolo di Re, ma a chi possiede effettivamente o ha posseduto Regni. [...] Prima che li Conti di Savoia affettassero, o ambissero Titoli Regii, non essendo Re, la Republica era Padrona di Regni”.

⁹² Ibid., 336v: “Chiama l’autore il Duca di Savoia Re che mai è statto coronato Re, ne mai ha posseduto il regno”.

heighten Savoy and to decrease the Majesty of the Serene Republic [of Venice]”.⁹³

Baitelli and Feramosca employed a further clever piece of argument, in using Rome and Florence to prove that Venice enjoyed pre-eminence and that Savoy ranked below Venice amongst Italian states. Starting with the case of Rome, they argued that if the duke of Savoy was indeed a king, the papacy would have recognised his royalty and would have elevated the duchy's rank, as happened to the Medici of Florence when in 1569 Pope Pius V granted them the grand ducal title.⁹⁴ Besides, although Pius II took Charlotte's side back in the fifteenth century, pre-eminence in Rome was given to Venice, for example in relations of the ministers and in ceremonial court.⁹⁵ Of course, Baitelli and Feramosca were referring to the *Ordo Regum* and *Ordo Ducum*, are presented in Chapter 3. Even “[T]he Republic of Florence, superior in titles to Savoy, yields in [the pre-eminence of] Venice”.⁹⁶ So, this was another reason, according to the two legal advisors that Venice had pre-eminence over Savoy. But, the Florentine grand-duke also ceded precedence to Venice, strongly suggesting that the Venetian hierarchical position was much higher than Savoy's.⁹⁷

Aside from Baitelli and Feramosca, another source from the *consultori*, that of Michel Lonigo da Este, deserves analysis. He was the brother of Gasparo Lonigo mentioned in Chapter 3. Gasparo was the author of the *Trattato della Presedenza*. Michel Lonigo da Este, experienced in service at the papal court, resided for a period in Rome and was honoured by Paul V (r. 1605-1621) as “[D]eputy Librarian of the Vatican and of the ceremonies of the papal chapel”.⁹⁸ In the crucial period of the 1630s he wrote his opinion about the royal

⁹³ Ibid., 335r: “habbiamo trovate molte cose ni esco o non vere, o alterate, o aggrandite, o con artificio espressa; Tutte dirette ad inalzare la Casa di Savoia, et a d'aprimere la Maestà della Serenissima Repubblica”.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 431r.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 432v.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 326r: “La Republica Fiorentina maggiore di titoli di Savoia cede alla Veneta”.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 326v.

⁹⁸ Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, Vol. I (Padua, 1832), p.534.

title of Cyprus, and in 1635 wrote from Rome to the doge of Venice, Francesco Erizzo, calling him “Serenissimo principe”.⁹⁹

Michel Lonigo explored why Savoy could not deploy more convincing arguments that Venice in its claim to Cyprus.¹⁰⁰ In terms, first, of the rivalry between Charlotte and her illegitimate brother Jacques, Michel Lonigo took Jacques’s side. He underlined that Jacques became the king of Cyprus, after receiving the support and permission of the feudal overlord, the sultan of Egypt.¹⁰¹ Jacques thereby continued the male blood-line of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus. Contrariwise, Louis had never obtained the support of the Egyptian sultan to be named as the legal king of the island.¹⁰² After all, both the kingdom and the kings of Cyprus were feudal subordinates of the sultan.¹⁰³ Accordingly, Charlotte had no right to transfer her royal rights, while the sultan preferred her brother to be the king.¹⁰⁴ It should be added that Michel Lonigo made considerable use of Pius II’s *Commentarii*, the pope as already mentioned, who had helped Charlotte find supporters to retake Cyprus. Interpreting the *Commentarii*, Lonigo found out that even Pius II, at various points, did not use a royal title for Louis.¹⁰⁵ Lonigo may have wanted to suggest that the royal status of Louis was never that certain, so *a fortiori* even more uncertain was the royalty of the dukes of Savoy.

Moreover, Michel Lonigo enumerates the various mistakes that had resulted in Savoy losing the royal title of Cyprus. To start with, after Charlotte and her husband died without children, her bequest passed to her aunt and mother-in-law, Anne. But, as Lonigo rhetorically questioned, “[W]as the Duchess Anne with her sons and successors called in the kingdom to make that donation [of Charlotte]? [...] The duchess neither was called, not could she

⁹⁹ ASV CJ, 79.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 86-273.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp.88-90, 191-194, 211, 225.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp.219-225.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.186.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.218.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.219.

succeed, to the kingdom”.¹⁰⁶ So, what the two *consultori* underline is that Anne and her descendants were never officially called by Cypriots to return to Cyprus as the loyal rulers, as Charlotte had wished. Besides, as Lonigo says, if Savoyard rulers had wanted to claim the royal title, they firstly should have conquered the island.¹⁰⁷ But, Savoy did not have the necessary naval power to do so.¹⁰⁸ It is understandable that possession of the island could make a royal title valid, and correspondingly that possession was more important than the title. Another mistake was that neither Carlo I nor subsequent dukes of Savoy ever considered conquering Cyprus.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, Venice was privileged as it had ruled the island, first as protector/trustee [tutrice], patron and superior of Caterina Cornaro, and then with direct control of the island, governing, so Lonigo suggested, with justice, while paying a tribute to the sultan, before it fell to Turks.¹¹⁰ By contrast, Savoy did not exercise control of the island and had not paid any dues to the sultan for the possession of the royal fief.¹¹¹ Accordingly, Lonigo argued that Savoy’s claim was weak and unjustified.

Furthermore, the fact that the sultan was opposed to Charlotte’s claim to the Cypriot throne, and also the fact that 150 years had passed since Charlotte had transferred her rights to Savoy, made her donation to the dukes invalid as it was never used.¹¹² In any case, by the seventeenth century, the island was under Turkish control, so again Charlotte’s donation was invalid.¹¹³ This can be explained by what Baitelli and Feramosca had already said, that is to say that in order to claim royal status, one needed to possess a kingdom, or previously have had one. Lonigo highlighted further strategic and diplomatic mistakes by Savoy that undercut Savoy’s claims. More specifically, in order for Savoyard dukes to maintain their claim, given 150 years had passed since Charlotte’s donation; they should have done three things. The first was to have

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.201-202: “Se la Duchessa Anna con suoi figliVoli e successori era chiamata al Regno à far quella donatione? [...] la Duchessa non era chiamata, no poteva succeder al Regno”.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp.165, 262.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.166.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.167.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp.166, 170-171, 187-190, 246-249.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.190.

¹¹² Ibid., pp.156-158.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp.175-176.

incorporated in their coat of arms those of the royal crown of Cyprus.¹¹⁴ Secondly, they were supposed to use the titles “Re” and “Illustrissimo”, something that never happened.¹¹⁵ This is a significant performative element here, as it clearly demonstrates that a ruler who wanted to have a royal status needed to “perform” status to keep it alive; otherwise it might lose its credibility. Thirdly, they had an occasion to send ambassadors to Venice to complain in the senate about the possession of the island. But again, they never did that for their own reasons which are not explained in this source.¹¹⁶ Without these three things, Lonigo suggested that the Savoyard claim was unjustified, while its diplomacy lacked a long-term strategic plan.

Accordingly, Savoy was never royal. On the contrary, Lonigo underlined that in Rome, Venetian ambassadors were received in the *Sala Regia*,¹¹⁷ while those of Savoy in Rome never preceded Venice's.¹¹⁸ Finally, Lonigo sought to demonstrate Caterina's legitimacy as a queen and also that Venice respected Caterina's loyalty up to her death. Comparing the case of Charlotte to Caterina's, the one that predominates is that of Caterina. First of all, as Lonigo rhetorically questioned, “[H]ow, therefore, did she [Caterina] retain the kingdom [of Cyprus] and the title of queen for fifteen years after the death of her husband and fourteen years after the death of her son, and was obeyed by everyone, while also the sultan never complained?”¹¹⁹ On her return to Venice, she kept both the royal title and the royal prerogatives until her death.¹²⁰ Also, the illegitimate daughter of King Jacques II and his mother Marietta had both died in the Veneto and had never returned to Cyprus, as explained in Chapter 2. According to Lonigo, in both tombs were placed the royal crowns of Cyprus and inscriptions saying that the first one was the daughter of Jacques, king of Cyprus and the second one his mother.¹²¹ So, even they kept their royal titles

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.168.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp.168-169.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.169.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.273.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp.26-86.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp.226-227: “Come dunque tenere ella il Regno un titolo di Regina quindici anni continui dopo la morte di marito, e quatordecim dopo la morte di figlio, e fù ulidita da tutti, e il soldano mai se ne lamentò?”

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.256.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp.236-237.

after their death; by contrast, following Charlotte's death in Rome, her rights, royal title and coat of arms were never used by Savoy. These comments demonstrate clearly, that according to Lonigo only Venice had serious and justified reasons to use the royal title of Cyprus.

This section has demonstrated that Duke Vittorio Amedeo I, who only reigned for seven years, pursued a sustained campaign to achieve his royal recognition, closing his crown and using the royal title and the coat of arms of Cyprus in coins, frontispieces of books and buildings and sponsoring Monod's anonymous source to explain why the duchy was a kingdom. However, that provoked an almost equally vehement response from Venice to secure its perceived rights. The principal point on behalf of Venice was that the right to kingship entailed certain requirements, such as ruling a kingdom before just using its royal title, requirements that Savoy never had. Comparing the Savoyard to the Venetian arguments, it is understandable that the duke of Savoy could argue that he was *de jure* king of Cyprus, because of Charlotte's will, while Venice could underline that it followed every formal rule by controlling the island after the permission of the sultan of Egypt and the will of Queen Caterina. These points can suggest that there was not an inviolable, unequivocal and commonly accepted set of norms, so Savoy could finally "fight" for its royal recognition risking the relations with Venice and at the same time, Venice had to secure its rights by underlining its sovereign status and by asking for legal advice.

From the seventeenth century to Unification

The second, and shorter, part of this chapter starts from 1638, after the death of Vittorio Amedeo I, and goes mainly up to the end of Venice in 1797, with a few additional points relating to the period to the Italian Unification in 1871. While the rivalry between Venice and Savoy subsided, it did not entirely finish. This section focuses mainly on three rulers of Savoy; the first, Carlo Emanuele II, pushed Venice to its limits; Vittorio Amedeo II (r. 1675-1730), who was the first duke of Savoy who enjoyed title initially of the king of Sicily and then of the king

of Sardinia; thirdly, Carlo Emanuele III, who finally achieved the royal recognition from Venice. As in the previous part of the chapter, the main focus is to see how Cyprus's royal title was used in this long Savoyard-Venetian "battle", a rivalry "battle" that was coming to its end.

After Vittorio Amedeo I's death, his infant son Francesco Giacinto (r. 1637-1638) became duke, though he reigned only for just over a year; he was succeeded in turn by the Vittorio Amedeo's younger son, Carlo Emanuele II. Since he was a minor, his mother, Marie Christine, assumed regency powers. Her authority was challenged by her two brothers-in-law (Maurizio and Tommaso Francesco), resulting in a civil war in the states of Savoy (1639-42).¹²² In spite of the fact that it would be expected that Marie Christine would follow her husband's strategy regarding the crown of Cyprus, as will be described, she did not continue it entirely. One reason is that in 1639, during the civil war, she wanted to improve relations with Venice, and sent a letter to the republic offering help for Venice's war against the Turks. The offer was declined,¹²³ but Marie Christine adopted a different strategy from her husband's. Her son, Carlo Emanuele II, assumed personal rule in 1648 and continued the strategy of his mother. In fact, he sent forces to Crete to help the Venetians in the war against the Ottomans for the control of the island, which took place between 1644 and 1669.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, in 1653-1654, Mario Foresti, a regular clerk of the Theatines from Bergamo,¹²⁵ was sent to Venice to inform the Venetian authorities about the new intentions of the duchy to achieve conciliation with the Republic.¹²⁶ This clearly suggests that the duchy of Savoy wanted to re-approach and strengthen its relations with Venice.

In the meantime, Marie Christine asked Samuel Guichenon to write the genealogical history of Savoy glorifying its past and underlining its royal rights.¹²⁷ Guichenon was born in Mâcon, France, in 1607, and later moved to

¹²² Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, ed., *Burke's Royal Families of the World*, Vol. I: Europe & Latin America (London, 1977), p.362.

¹²³ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 62.

¹²⁴ Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 65.

¹²⁵ Batista Nani, *Degl'Istorici delle cose Veneziane, I quail hanno scritto per Pubblico*, Vol. VIII (Venice, 1720), p.319.

¹²⁶ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 62-63.

¹²⁷ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, unpaginated.

Bourg-en-Bresse, where he studied law. He became historian of King Louis XIV of France (r. 1643-1715), niece of Marie Christine, and then he moved to Savoy, following the duchess's request to write the history.¹²⁸ Guichenon's treatise was written in a period of time that both European states, principally France and Spain, but also the Italian states of Savoy, Venice and Florence were arguing over precedence, and there was also the question of whether "a Republic was a higher status than a dynastic state".¹²⁹ The treatise was published in Lyon in 1660, though tellingly, Guichenon passed over Monod's 1632 treatise, along with the *Trattamento Reale*. Monod, in Guichenon's source, is firstly mentioned for the year 1636, as the confessor of the duchess that was going to be sent to France, to represent Savoy and its rights over the kingdom of Cyprus.¹³⁰ This absence of Monod's work clearly reflects the different policy of Marie Christine towards Venice. Guichenon's source is in fact dedicated to her, with the full title "[M]adame Royale, Christienne de France, Duchess de Savoye, Princesse de Piemont, Reyne de Chypre".¹³¹ The fact that she is also styled as "queen of Cyprus", suggests that although Marie Christine was trying to improve diplomatic relations with Venice, by effectively sidelining Monod, she was using in practice the royal title that caused the "battle" with Venice.

Although Guichenon did not have a chapter specifically devoted to the Savoyard-Venetian "battle" over Cyprus's royal title, he has some relevant information that clearly underlined Savoy's royal claims. To start with, he includes in the full titles of all the dukes of Savoy from Carlo I, the title of king of Cyprus, indirectly demonstrating that they were always the only legitimate kings of Cyprus since the fifteenth century. In terms of the fifteenth century, Guichenon presented Charlotte as a person determined to retake her throne in Cyprus after she had lost it,¹³² while her husband Louis is described gloriously

¹²⁸ Samuel Egerton-Brydges, *Polyanthea Librorum Vetustiorum, Italicorum, Gallicorum, Hispanicorum, Aglicanorum, et Latinorum*, Part I (Geneva, 1822), pp.253-254.

¹²⁹ Osborne, "Language and Sovereignty", 15-16.

¹³⁰ Guichenon, *Histoire*, Books 1-2, p.907.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp.537-546.

as “a great example of piety of a constant generation of misfortunes”,¹³³ without any mention of his mistakes or inadequacies as king presented in Part I of this thesis. Then, Guichenon indirectly answered the question of whether Charlotte of Lusignan or Caterina Cornaro had the right to be called queen of Cyprus. As he stated, Charlotte and Louis were the only legitimate rulers of the island, as Caterina was married to a “bastard” (Jacques II), while “[C]aterina Cornaro passed the imaginary rights that she had in the kingdom of Cyprus [to the Venetian authorities], [...] when Carlo, the duke of Savoy, was the only and legitimate heir”.¹³⁴ In fact, as Guichenon continued, Charlotte died in Rome in 1487, after she had donated her kingdom to the duchy. For this reason, Carlo “[r]eceived the title and the quality of the king of Cyprus in 1488”.¹³⁵ “Since Carlo I the Warrior, the duke who first had the title of the king of Cyprus, the dukes of Savoy have always had a true royal crown, though not closed, as the use of it is not ancient”.¹³⁶ Savoy thus had every right, according to Guichenon, to enjoy the royal rights associated with Cyprus - indirectly he states that in the Savoyard-Venetian “battle”, only Savoy had legitimate rights.

Guichenon did not restrict himself to the fifteenth century, but provided occasional information also about the “battle” in the following centuries. For example, for the coronation of Emperor Charles V in 1530, Guichenon underlined that “[t]he pope [Clement VII] and the emperor [Charles V] declared that the kingdom had to be restored by the Venetians as they were controlling it without a title”,¹³⁷ a statement that again clearly shows that only Savoy had *de jure* rights over the title of Cyprus. Guichenon also mentioned that Duke Carlo Emanuele I had planned in 1601 the recovery of Cyprus, sending also an envoy to speak to the patriarch in Jerusalem,¹³⁸ as explained in Chapter 3 of this thesis. This plan of the duke suggests that he did not want only to enjoy the royal rights arising from Cyprus, but he also had bigger plans, as he wanted to gain possession of the island as its official and legitimate king.

¹³³ Ibid., p.544.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.546.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.579.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.897.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.634.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp.794-795.

In terms of the seventeenth century, and especially the 1630s when the Savoyard-Venetian rivalry peaked, although Guichenon as explained, did not explicitly mention Monod's treatise, he includes some relevant information that demonstrates that Savoy wanted to take advantage of its rights over the Cypriot royal title. As Guichenon wrote, when in 1630 the Pope Urban VIII decided that only the cardinals of the emperor and kings should keep the title of "illustrissimo", "[t]he Republic of Venice sought to prove that it ranked amongst the kings, because of the kingdom of Cyprus".¹³⁹ However, "[C]arlo Emanuele who was still alive, replied that hereditarily too [Savoy had rights] over the kingdom of Cyprus [...] and it was obliged to keep the prerogatives of Savoy [...] and with the quality of the king of Cyprus, he could use the privileges of crowned heads".¹⁴⁰ Soon after, the new duke, "[V]ittorio Amedeo, closed his crown, following the example of the duke [doge] of Venice; he also adopted the royal title and he used the coat of arms and the quality of the king of Cyprus that his predecessors used to have".¹⁴¹ Although Guichenon's treatment of this is not detailed, it is understandable that it was a very difficult period for the relations of the two states.

Other sources suggest that there were further efforts to improve Savoyard-Venetian relations in these middle decades of the seventeenth century. In 1658, Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655-1667) offered to mediate between the two states.¹⁴² In late 1661, renewed negotiations were started in Rome and in early 1662, the abbot Vincenzo Dini, minister of Carlo Emanuele II,¹⁴³ let Venice know about Carlo Emanuele II's good intentions and his policy of rapprochement. The republic asked Marco Pisani, *Savio di Terra ferma*, to undertake the informal discussion in Rome.¹⁴⁴ The two men achieved some progress, as it was agreed that Venice would send an ambassador to Turin after Turin sent its own ambassador to Venice.¹⁴⁵ Finally, it was also agreed

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.896.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.896.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.897.

¹⁴² Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 63; Bibliotti, *Rapporti*, 100.

¹⁴³ AST NV, Mazzo 1, No 9, 2v-3r.

¹⁴⁴ Sagredo, "Relazione di Savoia", [893] / 317; Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 63.

¹⁴⁵ Bibliotti, *Rapporti*, p.100.

that in the letters to the Senate, Savoy would not use the title of the king of Cyprus,¹⁴⁶ demonstrating a willingness by Savoy to step back, perhaps temporarily, in its demand over the royal title.

The improvement in Savoyard-Venetian relations is also suggested by the instructions written on 30 March 1662 from Carlo Emanuele II to marchese del Borgo for his embassy to Venice after the re-establishment of formal relations between the powers following Dini's informal negotiations.¹⁴⁷ The duke ordered Del Borgo that "[i]n everything that you will treat in writing with the Republic, or its disputants, you should not use the title 'Altezza Reale', in order to conform with the following agreements".¹⁴⁸ This order suggests that the duke of Savoy did not want to recognise the royal status of the doge. Also, in the letters for Venice, the imprints with the Savoyard royal arms with the Savoyard closed crown should not be used, but instead a cross and a royal crown.¹⁴⁹ On April 1662, the Del Borgo finally arrived in Venice as a demonstration of goodwill towards the Republic.¹⁵⁰ The coat of arms will be analysed further in Part III.

The duke's good intentions are further suggested by the fact that in the next month, the Venetian Senate finally decided to send Alvisé Sagredo to Turin as its new ambassador.¹⁵¹ The two states came close for one more reason; in the same year, 1662, the duke of Savoy decided to desist from officially supporting Monod's polemical treatise,¹⁵² a source of considerable disagreement in the past between the two states. So, by this time there seemed to be no obstacle to good relations, as Vittorio Amedeo I's official claim over the Cyprus royal title was put aside. The early 1660s was a turning point for the relations between Venice and Savoy, a point of rapprochement and a step back by Savoy.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.100.

¹⁴⁷ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 8, 18:1r-4v.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 18:4v. "In tutto quello che tratterete in iscritto con la Repubblica, o suoi Disputati non dovrete impiegare il titolo d'Altezza Reale per conformarvi a i concerti seguiti".

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 18:5r-5v.

¹⁵⁰ Bibliotti, *Rapporti*, p.101.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.101.

¹⁵² Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 63.

In 1664, Carlo Emanuele II sent Giambattista Bigliore of Lucerna to Venice on an ambassadorial mission.¹⁵³ Before detailing what he was to do, it should be mentioned that in ambassadorial instructions, Carlo Emanuele II styled himself as “Il Duca di Savoia, Re di Cipro”,¹⁵⁴ when in the letter he had written for the doge to inform him about sending Bigliore as an ambassador in Venice, he signs as “Buon figlio e servatore, il Duca di Savoia”,¹⁵⁵ evoking the language used by Duke Emanuele Filiberto on his visit to Venice in 1574, as presented in Chapter 3. This difference clearly suggests that the duke was following what he had agreed to with his public correspondence with Venice, while at the same time in the letters for those in his service he continued to use the royal title of Cyprus. Yet, Bigliore’s instructions suggest that although the duke of Savoy was indeed abiding to what was agreed in formal situations, in informal circumstances he wanted his representatives in Venice to push back. Giambattista Bigliore had to arrive privately in Venice in order for him firstly to be in contact by a letter with the French ambassador, to see if he would announce his arrival with royal treatment or not. The positive signs would be recognised if the French ambassador responded to Bigliore’s letter calling him “Eccellenza”.¹⁵⁶ However, in the formal speech to the doge, he should not use for the duke the title “Altezza Reale”, but the title he would use for the doge, which would be “Serenissimo”. In private conversations in the palace, though, he could support Savoy’s royal rights.¹⁵⁷ Thus, although in formal conversations the ambassador should remain careful in the titles he was going to use, in private events the strategy would be different. At the same time, Carlo Emanuele was attuned to indirect semiotic signs that could demonstrate his sovereign status. Bigliore, outside his ambassadorial residence, should include the coat-of-arms as they were presented in Savoy this time. But, in the imprints in the letters for the republic, he should still use the cross with the royal closed

¹⁵³ Nomaglio, “Savoia e Cipro”, 49.

¹⁵⁴ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 9, 20:16r.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 23r.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 20:1v-2r.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20:4v.

crown.¹⁵⁸ This plan clearly proves that Savoy was wishing to gain royal recognition from Venice.

Bigliore, following the order of his duke on 25 June 1664, in an official ceremony in Venice in front of all the members of his embassy, placed the Savoyard coat of arms above his residence, including the crown of Cyprus. Although the duke did step back, it did not mean he did not want to eventually gain royal recognition from Venice. However, the Venetian authorities did react, and soon after, a number of Venetian senators complained that if the Savoyards were not prepared to remove their coat of arms, then the Venetians would be compelled to do so. The representative refused, and confrontation would have been certain,¹⁵⁹ if the duke had not intervened by dispatching a letter to his representative on 29 June. Carlo Emanuele I wrote that Savoy wanted the cross to be placed under the royal crown, as a Savoyard royal prerogative, not as a title of a kingdom. If Venice did not agree, then the representative should depart,¹⁶⁰ again suggesting that the Savoyard duke wanted recognition of his royalty from Venice. Bigliore left Venice on 5 March 1671 and Venice and Savoy ceased having ambassadors in each others' cities for seventy one years.¹⁶¹ The royal crown of Cyprus caused a disagreement between Venice and Savoy, as Savoy was indirectly trying to be approved as a royal state. It can thus be said that in the late years of Carlo Emanuele II, the duchy pushed the Venetian authorities to their limits regarding the royal title of Cyprus, as it really wanted to be included in the crown heads.

The next duke of Savoy, Vittorio Amedeo II (r. 1675-1730), was eventually successful in obtaining the longed-for royal recognition, as a consequence of his entanglement in the War of the Spanish Succession, after the death of the Spanish king, Carlos II (r. 1665-1700). More specifically, Vittorio Amedeo II was granted the kingdom and the crown of Sicily with the Treaty of Utrecht in April 1713, later exchanged for the kingdom and crown of

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 9, 5r.

¹⁵⁹ Nomaglio, "Savoia e Cipro", 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 50.

¹⁶¹ Poumarède, "Deux Têtes", 64; Luigi Firpo, *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, Vol. XI, Savoia (1496-1797) (Turin, 1983), xx.

Sardinia in 1720.¹⁶² As a result, the tensions between Savoy and Venice diminished still further during the early eighteenth century, as, quite simply, Savoy had fewer reasons to pursue the Cypriot claim.¹⁶³ With international recognition of his royalty, Vittorio Amedeo II could clearly demonstrate his power and royalty changing the royal balance in Europe;¹⁶⁴ this also meant that in effect he had “[w]on the race to royalty that their Medici rivals had begun in 1580s”.¹⁶⁵ But, this does not mean that he abandoned the royal title of Cyprus entirely. He may not have used it in official documents sent to Venice, but he continued to use it in letters addressed to his subjects, such as one written in 1722 for Cavaliere Marini, a Savoyard working in Venice. Vittorio Amedeo II informed him about being able to get a Savoyard passport. Vittorio Amedeo signed firstly as “Rè di Sardegna, di Cipro e di Gerusalemme” and then as “Duca di Savoia”,¹⁶⁶ the claim to the royal title of Cyprus remained a dynastic responsibility.

Vittorio Amedeo II was recognised as a king by the holy roman emperor and the king of Spain. However, this success did not stop him from trying to re-establish good relations with Venice, possibly reflecting a lingering sense of political unease given that the papacy remained reluctant to recognise the royal title of Sardinia, because of its feudal interests there. In fact, the nunzio in Vienna, Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), whose father, Orazio Albani, was the brother of Pope Clement XI (r. 1700-1721), worked for years for Savoy to come to an agreement - that was finalised in 1727, during Pope Benedict XIII's reign (r. 1724-1730).¹⁶⁷ So, probably because of this instability with the royal title of Sardinia, Vittorio Amedeo II wanted to improve relations with Venice. On 28 February 1707, the lawyer Picono was dispatched as an agent to Venice, to re-establish relations between the republic and Savoy¹⁶⁸ and to discuss with “[t]his form of speaking as a friend and not as a minister, and to always be able to

¹⁶² Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio”, 66.

¹⁶³ Spreti, *Enciclopedia I*, pp.241-244.

¹⁶⁴ Giuseppe Ricuperati, “Dopo Guichenon: La storia di casa di Savoia dal Tesauro al Lama” in Giovanna Ioli, ed., *Da Carlo Emanuele I a Vittorio Amedeo II: Atti del convegno nazionale di studi* (San Salvatore Monferrato, 1987), 12.

¹⁶⁵ Osborne, “The Surrogate War”, 21.

¹⁶⁶ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 16, 156:1r.

¹⁶⁷ Lesley Lewis, “Alessandro Albani” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 1 (1960).

¹⁶⁸ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 16, 153:1r-5v.

come out of commitment, not directly according to the experience of the past, but to show goodwill in certain occasions without however a positive disposition to come to a conclusion".¹⁶⁹ His instructions elaborated that there were "[m]any examples of princes and potentates who use titles of kingdoms and provinces that they did not control", and anyway "the Republic of Venice did not control of the island either".¹⁷⁰ The Savoyard-Venetian rivalry was described in this letter as "the old controversy",¹⁷¹ clearly characterising the exact situation between them. What this seems to suggest is that the duke wanted to leave that old controversy to one side and open a new page in his relations with Venice. No matter that there was no progress at this juncture relating to the royal title of Cyprus; the intention to gain better relations with Venice was promising on its own.

It should be added, though, that despite the relative calmness in Savoyard-Venetian relations during this period, two polemics were produced about the controversy written by authors related to Venice. They provide fundamental insights into Venetian attitudes to royalty during the early eighteenth century. The first was written by Paolina Pontini, about whom no information is available apart from the fact that she was a relative to the Venetian advocate Dr Zaccaria Pontini.¹⁷² The recipient of Paolina's source was the bishop of Treviso, Giovanni Battista Sanudo and the subject was Cyprus's royal title.¹⁷³ She opened her work by saying that the first and most reliable professors of law should be hired to analyse their opinions over Venice's rights to the royal crown, as there are counter claims from Savoy.¹⁷⁴ She also mentions that Savoy and Venice both claimed the royal title of Cyprus, when the Turks were by that time in actual possession, which was more vital than the title.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 153:3v: "Questa forma di parlare da amico e non da ministro, e per poter sempre uscir d'impegno, non diretta secondo l'ispeienza del passat, ch'a mostrar buona Volontà in certe occasioni, senza per altro haver positivamente in animo di venirme ad una conclusione".

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 153:2v-3r: "Molti esempi di Prencipi, e Potentati che portano il titolo di Regni, e Provincie, che non possedevano, [...] la Repubblica di Venezia rispetto al titolo, et arme che portiamo del Regno di Cipro, quanto che non vi è tampoco in possesso".

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 153:2r.

¹⁷² BC PP., IVr

¹⁷³ Ibid., IIIr, IVv.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 1r.

I will simply discourse about the sole title of the kingdom of Cyprus, of which they claim to be legitimate possessors: the Serene Republic of Venice and the Serene House of Savoy, one to the exclusion of the other; and if the benefit from this obsessive claim is just the intention of the two princess to feel satisfaction, more that anyone else, the lord of the Turks [the sultan of Ottomans] will laugh, as he was the real possessor of the island watching the others [Venetians and Savoyards] forming ideal discourses, as he was [controlling Cyprus] for more that ninety years, something more than substantial, as this was the principal reason [of ownership] and nothing was more valuable than possession. In any case, in order not to wander from the subject, I will summarise the reasons given by the rulers of Savoy in response to my report grounded on the force of what those serene princes claim. Everything else remains delusionary against the absolutely valid [claims] of the Serene Republic of Venice.¹⁷⁵

The key message here is that Savoy could not have any better reasons than Venice over Cyprus as the island was controlled by the Turks.

The second source dates from 1730, from a private collection in Turin and is a late reply to Monod. The author gives only the initial letters of his name, D.S., and the source is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. It is worth emphasising here that D.S. wished to underline that Filiberto II (r. 1497-1504) became a “figlio di San Marco”, and signed himself in his correspondence with the doge as “Di Vostra Serenità buon figlivolo e Servitore”,¹⁷⁶ in effect accepting his inferiority to the Venetian doge. Moreover, D.S. wrote that

There is no difference between the sovereignty of a Republic and that of a kingdom; Republics should be considered as kingdoms, when they have appropriate states to adopt this character. Republics consequently should precede a king of lesser antiquity that them, and [Republics should also precede] especially a prince of inferior power; the Republic of Venice has been considered a kingdom since time immemorial; the duke of Savoy cannot claim pre-eminence over the Republic [of Venice] either as duke or as the king of Sardinia.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.1v-2r: “lo discorso semplicemente del solo titolo del Regno di Cipro del quale pretendono d'esser legittimi possessori: La Ser.ma Rep.ca di Venetia et la Ser.ma Casa di Savoia, per una però ad'esclusione dell'altra; et se bene di questo preteso per ossesso, che solo animo intendolo goder questi due Prencipi si riderà più di atti il Sig.r Turco che n'è effettivo possessore nel veder che altri formino discorso ideali stando egli novanta et più anni sono sopra il sostantiale, non viessendo era Prencipi ragione più valide del possesso, ad ogni modo per non partire della subiera materia sperarò in compendio le ragioni addotte dalli ser.mi di Savoia alla mia notitia pervenute dalla forza delle quali pretendono quei Ser.mi Prencipi ogni altro rimaner deluso per contra poner poi le validissime della Rep.ca Ser.ma di Venetia”.

¹⁷⁶ Nomaglio, “Savoia e Cipro”, 48.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 48: “Che non vi sia differenza dalla sovranità d' una Republica à quella d'un Regno; Che le Repubbliche devono essere considerare Regno, quando abbiano convenienti Stati per assumere questo carattere; Che le Repubbliche

These comments are significant, in spite of the fact that the royal title of Cyprus is not mentioned at all; they demonstrate that power and pedigree were more vital than anything else, including a royal title such as the one of Sardinia, which in any case was relatively new. Importantly, also, Vittorio Amedeo is styled in this source as duke of Savoy, when from 1720 he became king of Sardinia. It suggests that Venice was refusing to recognise in any way Savoy's royal status, even without the Cypriot title.

Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy, and king of Sardinia (c.1730-1773),¹⁷⁸ has often been taken as a successful ruler who modernised Savoy both economically and military.¹⁷⁹ More relevantly, he tried to improve relations with Venice, suggesting both that the old controversy was still not completely resolved, but, equally, that it was time to be resolved for good. Prior to Venice fully recognising Savoy's royal status in 1740, the duke's instructions to Cavalier Comendato di Pamparato, reveal some points about the old "battle". Pamparato was sent in 1738 to Venice, not as an ambassador as formal diplomatic relations had again stopped, but as a chargé d'affaires (incarito d'affari), a diplomatic position in absence of the ambassador. Carlo Emanuele III instructed Comendato to work in Venice with the government there, as Venice was still reluctant to concede royal recognition to Savoy, because of the title and the coat-of-arms of Cyprus. As the duke wrote

With the said [Venetian] Republic, we would presently not have full engagement, if recognition of our royal dignity was not negotiated, which nevertheless remains uncertain, and to settle therefore the Treatment, whether in correspondence, or through our respective ambassadors and ministers in foreign courts, about which subject, we adjudge to inform you that before we received the Royal Title, the Republic found it difficult to give us Royal treatments that we had from the other crowns, under the pretext of the title and the [coat of] arms of Cyprus, that [Venice] claims.¹⁸⁰

debbano precedere per conseguenza un Re meno Anziano di loro e tanto più un Principe inferiore di Potenza; Che la Republica di Venezia sia stata considerata un Regno da tempo immemorabile; Che il sig.r Duca di Savoia non possa pretendere di precedere alla Republica nè come Duca nè come Re di Sardegna".

¹⁷⁸ Spredi, *Enciclopedia I*, 243.

¹⁷⁹ Cristina Mossetti, "La politica artistica di Carlo Emanuele III" in Sandra Pinto, ed., *Arte di corte a Torino da Carlo Emanuele III a Carlo Felice* (Turin, 1987), 11.

¹⁸⁰ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 17 bis, 158:2r: "Colla Repubblica medesima noi non abbiamo presentemente verum affare, se non occorresse di trattare con essa per la ricognizione della nostra Dignità Regia, che rimane tuttavia sospesa, e per regolare quindi il Trattamento, sia nel Carteggio, sia tra nostri rispettivi ambasciatori, e Ministri nelle corti straniere sopra

As the letter continued, “[H]owever recently, the Republic made an opening to demonstrate its desire to re-establish the correspondence with us”.¹⁸¹ Venice, after many negotiations had agreed to four points with Savoy, via the prosecutor in the quality of the ambassador Marco Foscarini, the person representing Venice’s interests in this legal proceeding with Savoy. First, Venice would finally concede the title of “Altezza Reale” in the body and superscript of official letters. Secondly, Savoyard ambassadors in Venice should get all the rights that the ambassadors of the kings of France, Spain and England enjoy. Thirdly, in courts or anywhere else, the Venetian ambassadors should treat the Savoyard ambassadors just like the French, the Spanish and the English ambassadors treated them. Finally, the Savoyards could use the title and the coat-of-arms of Cyprus dealing either with Venice or third parties.¹⁸² In return, Savoy’s ambassadors would cede priority to Venetian ambassadors, with the condition also that on the negotiations between the two parts, Savoy would use the title and coat-of-arms of Cyprus and outside the palace of the ambassador of Savoy in Venice would be placed the coat-of-arms of Cyprus.¹⁸³ Thus, the two sides came to a revised agreement that could satisfy both sides. In April 1739, Venice announced its intention to restore correspondence with Savoy, only if in the letters would be written “Re di Sardegna”, not “Re di Cipro”.¹⁸⁴ Another option that the Venetian representative suggested was that in the letters the title “Re di Sardegna” should not even be included, but “Carolus Emanuel Rex”.¹⁸⁵

At the same time, between 1739-1741, extensive efforts were made in Rome, under the guidance of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), mentioned earlier, who had long experience of meetings with the representatives of both Venice and Savoy. The aim of those conversations was an agreement between Venice and Savoy regarding Venice’s recognition of

di quel proposito stimiamo d’informarvi, che sebbene anche prima che avessimo assunto il Titolo Regio, la Repubblica difficolasse a darci i trattamenti Regii, che avevamo dalle altre Corone, e ciò sotto pretesto del Titolo, ed Arma di Cipro ch’ella pretende spetargli”.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 158:3r: “Ma anche ultimamente la Repubblica ha fatto qualche apertura per dimostrare almeni il suo desiderio di ristabilire la corrispondenza con noi”.

¹⁸² Ibid., 158:2r-2v.

¹⁸³ Ibid., No 17 bis, 158:2v-3r.

¹⁸⁴ AST NV, Mazzo 3, No 11: folder 29. 1-4.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., folder 29, 9.

Savoy's royalty.¹⁸⁶ Yet, Savoy's royal recognition in Rome was not entirely guaranteed, as Clement XII (r. 1730-1740) cancelled the previous agreement between Rome and Savoy over Sardinia, since the pope wanted to revise some aspects of it; the new agreement only came years later, in 1741.¹⁸⁷ Again, Alessandro Albani from 1731 until 1743 defended Savoy's interests in the negotiations.¹⁸⁸ In a letter for him written in May 1739 by Carlo Emanuele III, it was argued that the king of England styles himself as king of France as well, while the king of France signs as king of Navarre too. Both kings use these titles in everyday use, including the letters.¹⁸⁹ Apart from these two cases, other kings, such as those of Spain and Naples did the same, so Savoy would not be a unique case by using the title of the "Re di Cipro".¹⁹⁰ But, in July 1739, Savoy replied that it would be satisfied with Venice calling their duke "Re di Sardegna", no matter that the title of "Re di Cipro" was not going to be addressed.¹⁹¹ Under these circumstances, setting temporarily aside the royal title of Cyprus, good relations between the two states would be restored.¹⁹²

1740 was thus a pivotal year for Savoy as it achieved the desirable royal recognition from Venice. Carlo Emanuele III respected the recent agreement between Venice and Savoy, as is evident in a letter that he wrote in June 1740 to the doge of Venice Luigi Pisani. He called him "Serenissimo Principe", he signed only as "Buon amico, Carlo Re", although in the beginning of the letter he included his whole royal title, king of Sardinia, Cyprus and Jerusalem followed by the title of duke of Savoy.¹⁹³ Moreover, in August 1741, a letter was sent to Carlo Emanuele III from Venice in which he was only called "Ré di Sardegna".¹⁹⁴ The above two letters are significant as they clearly demonstrate that a balance was finally struck between the two sides, almost three centuries after Charlotte had passed her rights to Savoy. After diplomatic relations

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., folder 29.

¹⁸⁷ Lesley Lewis, "Alessandro Albani" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 1 (1960).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ AST NV, Mazzo 3, 11, folder 29/1, 19.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., folder 29/1, 23.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., folder 29/2, 50-51.

¹⁹² Ibid., folder 29/4, unpaginated.

¹⁹³ Ibid., folder 29/17, unpaginated.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., folder 29/27, unpaginated.

between Carlo Emanuele III and the Doge Luigi Pisani ended positively, Marco Foscarini became the new Venetian ambassador in Savoy (1741-1742), after decades in which there was little contact.¹⁹⁵

In February 1742, the duke of Savoy (also king of Sardinia) sent another noteworthy letter to Marchese Mossi, the Savoyard ambassador in Venice which clearly verified that Savoy had managed to achieve what it wanted from Venice: “[t]he correspondence between us and the Republic of Venice is re-opened and re-established”.¹⁹⁶ In fact, relations in correspondence were re-established, as seen, for example in a letter from 1753 sent from Turin to Doge Francesco Loredano, in which he wrote to him as “Serenissimo Principe Francesco Loredano, Doge di Venezia, e Serenissima Repubblica Veneziana, miei molto cari amici”. Carlo Emanuele began the letter with his whole royal title, “Carlo Emanuele per grazia di Dio Re di Sardegna, di Cipro e di Gerusalemme, Duca di Savoia, di Monferrato, d’Aosta, di Chiabrese, e di Genevese”, and in the end of the letter - again as it was agreed in Rome - he signed as “Vostro buon amico, C.Emanuele”, expressing his true friendship and that he was pleased for the harmony and good correspondence between the two states.¹⁹⁷ These comments in the letter clearly prove that Savoy had gained official recognition of its royalty from Venice, and that the two states had left the old controversy behind.

Carlo Emanuele III died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Vittorio Amedeo III (r. 1773-1796).¹⁹⁸ Savoy, by then, had established itself as the strongest military state of the Italian Peninsula.¹⁹⁹ However, relations with Venice again faced some problems, prompting Savoy to sever diplomatic relations first, as Venice still did not recognise the royal crown of Sardinia as having parity with the monarchs of the higher rank amongst European royalties in public acts and treaties comprising Vienna, France, Spain and England.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Firpo, *Ambasciatori Veneti*, xxi; Bibliotti, *Rapporti*, 105.

¹⁹⁶ AST NV, Mazzo 1, 18, 1r: “Essendosi riaperta e ristabilita la corrispondenza tra noi, e la Repubblica di Venezia”.

¹⁹⁷ ASV ST, folder 17bis, unpaginated.

¹⁹⁸ Roberto Bergadani, *Vittorio Amedeo III: 1726-1796* (Turin, 1939), p.3.

¹⁹⁹ Caroline Campbell and Alan Chony, *Bellini and the East* (London, 2005), pp.48-49.

²⁰⁰ AST NV, Mazzo 2, 3, folder E126, 1r-1v; AST NV, Mazzo 2, 5, folder 134, 1r-3r.

When Vittorio Amedeo died in 1776, the next king was Carlo Emanuele IV (r. 1796-1802). Archival material suggests that the diplomatic disagreements with Venice continued, as Venice refrained from sending two ambassadors to Turin, (two ambassadors were only sent to the kingdoms, not the duchies) but that was something the duke wanted to resolve privately.²⁰¹ Although Venice previously had ensured that the duke of Savoy (and king of Sardinia) enjoyed using only the title “Re”, not “Re di Cipro”, this time Savoy was not going to be diplomatically restrained.²⁰² Savoy demanded from Venice recognition as a primary crown, without mentioning the royal title of Cyprus. In fact, the Cypriot crown was not something that would ultimately detract from Savoyard-Venetian relations, as Venice fell in 1797.²⁰³ In 1861, all the Savoyard dukes kept the title of the kings of Cyprus together with all the other customary titles. In 1861, Vittorio Emanuele II (r. 1861-1878) abandoned it for the title of king of Italy.²⁰⁴ Venice and Rome were annexed in the Italian Unification in 1866 and 1870 respectively.²⁰⁵

* * *

In conclusion, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, it can be said that neither Savoy was interested in Charlotte’s posthumous reputation *per se*, nor was Venice especially concerned with the memory and image of Caterina. The main thing that mattered was royal recognition for Savoy and pre-eminence for Venice, not the two women behind their respective claims. But, the shadows of the two queens remained across these centuries, indelibly present through their names, lives, and royal titles. Charlotte and Louis were presented in Savoyard sources as the only legitimate *de jure* rulers of Cyprus who had violently lost their kingdom from the usurper bastard Jacques, who himself had illegally possessed the island, thereby delegitimising also Caterina Cornaro. Charlotte

²⁰¹ AST NV, Mazzo 2, 5, folder 135, 1r-3r.

²⁰² AST NV, Mazzo 2, 3, folder B13, 1r-2r.

²⁰³ Geoffrey Symcox, “Cultural History and the Decline of Venetian Decline”, *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. XLV (2003), 119.

²⁰⁴ Musatti, *Venezia e Savoia*, p.47; Angelo d’Orsi, *L’Italia delle idee: Il pensiero politico in un secolo e mezzo di storia* (Milan, 2011), pp.1-22; John Whittam, *The Politics of the Italian Army: 1861-1918* (London, 1977), pp.11-12.

²⁰⁵ Charles F. Delzell, “Introduction” in Charles F. Delzell, *The Unification of Italy, 1859-1861: Cavour, Mazzani, or Garibaldi?* (London, 1965), 1.

though was a fighter who never stopped trying to retake the control of Cyprus and in the end, as the only legitimate ruler, she donated her royal rights to Savoy twice. According to Venetian sources, the images of the two queens are different. Charlotte lost her kingdom as the sultan of Egypt, the feudal overlord of Cyprus, preferred her stepbrother as the ruler of the island. In fact, Jacques II ruled for thirteen years and then Caterina for sixteen more, so for twenty-nine years, Cyprus was ruled legitimately by them, approved, as explained, by the feudal overlord.

According to this material from both Savoyard and Venetian sources, it is understandable that the personalities and lives of the two queens were in the shadow of their precious royal titles that they passed one to Venice and the other to Savoy. In fact, both Venice and Savoy achieved their respective goals, because both claimed their rights over Cyprus's royal title. Savoy's royal status was recognised by Venice in the eighteenth century, and Venice never lost its precedence over Savoy, not even when Savoy acquired Sardinia. From Venice's perspective, it possessed the island of Cyprus from 1489 until 1571, after Caterina Cornaro donated her kingdom to the republic, and since contrariwise the dukes of Savoy never possessed the island, they never were kings of Cyprus. Besides, Venetians, like Lusignan rulers, were approved by the sultan of Egypt, so Venetian authorities could underline that everything happened according to the law. The reigns of Jacques II and Caterina were, arguably, also legal as they were approved by the sultan too. For all these reasons, in 1630 the Venetian ambassadors in Rome were received in the *Sala Regia* as royal ambassadors, without any doubt. Conversely, the Savoyards had to "fight" for centuries in order to prove their royal rights, as not only did they never possess Cyprus, but no duke used the royal crown, title and coat of arms of Cyprus before the 1630s.

Evidently, Savoy's royal campaign was far from straight forward. The fact though that the Savoyard dukes never abrogated their royal rights arising from Charlotte's will, gave them the grounds to "fight" for royal recognition. However, as explained, they did not "fight" for their rights in the fifteenth century, after Charlotte's death, as during that time the possession of the land was what mainly mattered, and in any case, Savoy lacked the material power to take

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control of Cyprus (even if it had wished to do so). But, in the seventeenth century things were different: royal titles, even without possession of the respective territories, became in themselves precious for their owners. For this reason, it was then essential for the dukes of Savoy to underline that they were born princes, to be ranked alongside crowned heads and thereby to gain royal prerogatives, such as the right for their ambassadors to be placed with the ambassadors of the kings and the emperor, in the Vatican's *Sala Regia*. Accordingly, they underlined that they were titled "kings of Cyprus" and they argued that there were other similar cases that used royal titles without possession and enjoyed royal privileges. Of course, Venice argued against Savoy's claims, protecting the Venetian interests and the Venetian pre-eminence. The fact that across the period Savoy had to fight for its royal recognition, until 1740, and have various discussions with the representatives of Venice almost until the republic's fall in 1797 underscores the complexities of the process.

Part III

The images of Charlotte of Lusignan and
Caterina Cornaro through written and visual
sources

Chapter 5

The images and iconographies of the two queens in exile

Part II of the thesis analysed the ways in which Charlotte and Caterina were represented in archival material from Savoy and Venice. Part III has a different historical context and different sources. It reconstructs and explores their images and iconographies of from their lifetimes until the nineteenth century. Histories and recollections - chronicles, biographies, literature, poems, operas and visual representations - comprise the central core of these chapters. This section also considers how closely these constructed images mapped to our understanding of the two queens as explored in Part I, those instances where artists and authors tended to present ideal characteristics of these two queens - such as power and piety - and what the queens tried to achieve. This section also considers how sources were affected by Savoyard-Venetian diplomatic rivalry. Chapter 5 focuses on the images of the two queens during their lifetimes, while Chapter 6 deals with the sources after their deaths until the nineteenth century. They are separated chronologically, as this helps in the understanding of the evolution of their images over a long period of time and in markedly different political circumstances.

Art could be used to represent queens as “able, appropriate and properly sanctioned leaders, much as male heads of state had long done”.¹ Iconography was a tool that could demonstrate the empowerment of women.² Likewise, expensive clothes was a means of constructing outward identity, and indeed an indirect form of diplomacy.³ In 1520, for example, Emperor Charles V visited England, and Catherine’s violet-velvet-cloth was made with gold, and her pearl necklace with the pendant of Saint George indirectly emphasised her royalty.⁴ In the same year, at the Field of Cloth of Gold, Henry VIII and Catherine met King Francis I, his mother Louise of Savoy and Queen Claude. Catherine was dressed not according to English but to Spanish fashion, communicating her preference for a Spanish-English alliance instead of a French-English one.⁵ Evidently, jewels could be used to demonstrate the power of the sitter and convey awe to the viewer as can be seen in the case of Isabel “[O]ne of the best ways to assert her splendour and authority was by showing off her wardrobe and jewels. The more dazzling, magnificent and regal she seemed, the better for her reputation as it spread by word of mouth across the country”.⁶ The point was for her to “be magnificent, admired and feared”.⁷ The day after the death of Enrique, Isabel attended a ceremony in the cathedral of Segovia. On her departure, she was not dressed in black. She dressed “for maximum impact”, in “a rich outfit, adorned with glittering jewels of gold and precious stones that heightened her magnificent beauty”, as she was declared queen regnant.⁸ We can see this too in another contemporaneous example. In 1489, Henry VII of England sent an envoy to negotiate a potential alliance with Isabel and Fernando and a marriage alliance between Catalina (Catherine) of Aragón and Prince Arthur. Isabel wore “her brilliant regal robes, so she now also indulged in blatant power-dressing”. “The queen’s jewellery spoke even more eloquently of wealth and power”, no doubt underscoring the diplomatic efforts to

¹ Annette Dixon, “Introduction” in Annette Dixon, ed., *Women who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art* (London, 2002), 19.

² Ibid., 119.

³ Michelle L. Beer “Between Kings and Emperors: Catherine of Aragon as Counsellor and Mediator” in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Cham, 2018), 45.

⁴ Ibid., 46.

⁵ Ibid., 48-49.

⁶ Giles Tremlett, *Isabella of Castile: Europe’s First Great Queen* (London, 2017), p.113.

⁷ Ibid., p.113.

⁸ Ibid., p.95.

forge a broader Anglo-Castilian alliance.⁹ At the same time, iconography through gesture, clothes and jewels could emphasise the devotional side of the Catholic queens, especially with representations of crosses, rosaries or wimples, a combination of magnificence and piety that has been characterised as “princely/princessly piety”.¹⁰ By exploring the iconography of Charlotte and Caterina, this section considers how they fit into the typology of princessly piety, and if they also emphasise their royalty, and if they were active agents in the construction of their images.

Chapter 5 makes use of various primary sources, comprising the chronicles of two fifteenth century Cypriots, Leontios Machairas and George Boustronios, Pope Pius II’s autobiography, and the diaries of the Venetians Marino Sanudo and Domenico Malipiero (1445-1513). It should be noted from the very beginning of this chapter that these pre-modern chroniclers “were not modern detached historians”.¹¹ Although they include historical, political and social material in chronological order, chroniclers present personal opinions, religious preferences, court ideologies, cultural habits, political views, accomplishments of the past of a state, remembrance of important events, or even celebrations of a prince or other ruler of a city. Besides, the audience of these chronicles was mainly natives of those cities about which they wrote, often notaries, jurists, monks, clerics, merchants and townsmen.¹² They were not “historians” in the professionalised sense that we might understand today - they were not always able either to write their narratives about the past, without connecting it to the world in which they were living.¹³ We can see this, for example, in the case of Isabel, whose chroniclers “were paid for publicists”. They wrote about the achievements of the royal couple to impress the people, while glossing over unwanted details.¹⁴ Chronicles were indeed usually

⁹ Ibid., p.233.

¹⁰ Erin Griffey, “Devotional Jewellery in Portraits of Henrietta Maria” in Erin Griffey, ed., *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Aldershot, 2008), p.165.

¹¹ “Introduction” in Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duake J. Osheim, eds., *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Pennsylvania, 2007), ix.

¹² Ibid., ix-xviii.

¹³ Ibid., xi.

¹⁴ Tremlett, *Isabella*, p.150.

approved before dissemination.¹⁵ In terms of Venice, it might also be added that as a republic defined principally by its mercantile activities, its historians were less interested in, for example, ecclesiastical history, focusing instead on celebrating the political, military and indeed economic achievements of their predecessors.¹⁶ The Venetian chroniclers themselves were mainly members of the mercantile elites.¹⁷

Apart from the above sources, official histories of Venice are used in Chapter 5. The difference between a history and a chronicle, is that a history is in general an interpretive or explanatory source about the past, collecting facts and concentrated on a specific subject, while a chronicle focuses on state matters and human elements chronologically. In terms of the Venetian histories used in Chapter 5, those histories were not necessarily “objective” in the ways modern scholarship might understand, as they were specifically commissioned by Venetian authorities to honour their city and celebrate major aspects of its history.¹⁸ But, they are fundamental sources, as official historians had access to the republic’s archives.¹⁹ In this chapter, the Latin histories of the two official historiographers of Venice, Marco Antonio Sabellico and Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) are used, Sabellico was criticised by his compatriots “as a second-rate humanist”.²⁰ But, this work was the beginning of a change from chronicles to histories inside Venice.²¹ By contrast, Bembo’s work was well-received by the Venetians as Bembo glorified and honoured Venice.²² Besides, he had the benefit of using not only sources from the public archives and private collections, but also narrated on contemporary events.²³

¹⁵ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁶ Ibid., xiii.

¹⁷ John Melville-Jones, “Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers” in Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duake J. Osheim, eds., *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Pennsylvania, 2007), 202.

¹⁸ Eric R. Dursteler, “Introduction: A Brief Survey of Histories of Venice” in Eric R. Dursteler, ed., *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797* (Leiden, 2014), 2.

¹⁹ Ibid., 2.

²⁰ Ibid., 3.

²¹ Ibid., 3.

²² Ibid., 3.

²³ Ibid., 4.

Furthermore, there are few poems dedicated to Caterina, though none for Charlotte. These poems are like an encomium to the queen, an apotheosis of her life and identity, as she is presented as a perfect ruler, with comparisons in one, for example, with two goddesses, Minerva and Astraea. This can be contextualised with the mythologizing of other near-contemporary female rulers, notably Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) of England, queen of France Marie de Medici, queen of France and Navarre Anne of Austria (r. 1615-1643), and Christina queen of Sweden (r. 1632-1654).²⁴

In addition to the written sources, this chapter also examines the plastic arts, mainly paintings dedicated to the two queens; these contemporary images and their iconographical analysis can support the textual evidence, as “a portrait simply places a dead or otherwise absent person, making him or her ‘present’ to a certain audience by a visual experience”.²⁵ Moreover, iconographies can communicate the character, status, power, culture and religion of the sitter, the patron or the society in general. Portraits could be commissioned by relatives, friends, allies or people for various reasons, such as to show loyalty to sovereigns or people with power, to “affirm bonds to patrons and political allies”, or to use those portraits as diplomatic instruments.²⁶ Accordingly, the visual iconographies of Charlotte and Caterina will help us to understand, together with the written sources, their images as constructed by others.

Charlotte’s image in fifteenth century written and visual sources:

To understand Charlotte’s image as a queen in Cyprus and then as queen in exile, two fifteenth-century-chronicles from Cyprus are discussed, as they contain information that elucidates contemporary images of the queen. The first

²⁴ Marina Tymviou, [Unpublished] *Why was Elizabeth I painted in allegorical pieces of art with/as the mythological goddesses?*, University of East Anglia, School of History, Dissertation, 2008, 31.

²⁵ Kurt Johannesson, “The portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre” in Allan Ellenius, ed., *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), 27.

²⁶ John Peacock, “The Politics of Portraiture” in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 1993), 211-212.

chronicle was written by Leontios Machairas and the second one by George Boustronios. Moreover, another written source, the *Commentarii* of Pope Pius II, will be discussed. All these three sources include the only relevant information that can enlighten aspects of the contemporary image of Charlotte. Apart from the written sources, this part of the chapter includes two visual representations of Charlotte, which are both in Rome. Presenting these sources, the main question is to consider the extent to which authors and artists emphasised ideal characteristics.²⁷

The sources of Machairas and Boustronios were both in manuscript form until their publication in 1873. Machairas had a humanist education, and came from a local-noble-urban-family that had connections with the Lusignan rulers, something that gave him access to the local archives.²⁸ Boustronios was a Hellenised Cypriot who originally came from the French family “de Bustrone”,²⁹ a family that ranked amongst the aristocracy of Cyprus.³⁰ He was connected to the Lusignan court, as a retainer and friend of Jacques, prior to Jacques’s accession to the Cypriot throne.³¹ Having access to the palaces and official documents,³² Boustronios can be considered as a reliable eyewitness, presenting valuable information about the kingdom that in all likelihood would not otherwise have survived. But, being a reliable eyewitness does not mean that Boustronios was always objective or accurate. Being a friend and retainer of Jacques meant that in the struggle between Charlotte and Jacques over the kingdom, Boustronios was a clear supporter of Jacques. Boustronios “tells his story entirely from the local point of view with very little idea of the general trend of the historical events around him”.³³ However, he was not an historian writing an interpretive or explanatory history; he presented in chronological order the

²⁷ Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, Identity* (Manchester, 1997), p.84.

²⁸ Χρίστος Ανδρέου, ed., *Ανθολόγια Κυπριακής Λογοτεχνίας: Πεζογραφία*, Vol. I (Nicosia, 1986), pp.68-71.

²⁹ Κ. Χατζηψάλτης, «Review: [untitled]», *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 87 (1967), 203; Κυριάκος Χατζηιωάννου, *Η Μεσαιωνική Κύπρος: Θεσμοί, Ποίηση, Διάλεκτος, Λαογραφία* (Nicosia, 1993), pp.109.

³⁰ Gilles Grivaud, “Florio Bustron, Storico del Rinascimento Cipriota” in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Florio Bustron: Historia overo Commentarii de Cipro, Introduzione di Gilles Grivaud* (Nicosia, 1998), vii.

³¹ Maria Iacovou, “Byzantine medieval Cyprus. A testimony” in Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis and Maria Iacovou, *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1998), 22-23; Leto Severis, *Join us and discover the History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1999), p.96.

³² Gilles Grivaud, “Un règne sans fastes-Catherine Cornaro à travers les sources produites à Chypre” in *Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 239.

³³ R. M. Dawkins, ed., *The Chronicle of George Boustronios: 1456-1489* (Melbourne, 1964), p.1.

facts that he had chosen as an eyewitness or he heard from others. This in itself made his history a work of interpretation.

Starting with Machairas, his narration ends with brief information about Charlotte, after her parents death in 1458. It details that she was a widow from her first husband, João de Coimbria and that after her father's death she became the ruler of the island.³⁴ Unfortunately, the Machairas's chronicle does not allow us to define the queen in her early years as a queen. However, the chronicle of Boustronios provides more detail about Charlotte. It was not uncommon for Cypriots in the fifteenth century to interpret politics in the context of bad luck and what we might consider to be superstition. Boustronios, explaining the reasons why Charlotte lost her kingdom, wrote that this did not happen only because of poor handling, but also because of sins, misfortunes and bad luck. In the first place, Boustronios specified that Charlotte's father wanted her to marry her first cousin, Louis of Savoy. However, his wife was absolutely against this wedding, as it would be sinful, given they were first cousins. In fact, before her death, she placed Charlotte under a curse in order to remove any desire to marry her cousin. "[S]hould she be married to him, moreover, she would be excommunicated, she would lose the kingdom and she would suffer her curse".³⁵ This provides us with a window into a mental world in which Charlotte was portrayed as having committed a sin, and was, as a consequence, castigated by God consequently losing her kingdom. Also, after Charlotte's coronation in Santa Sofia of Nicosia, on 15 October 1458, Boustronios wrote that when she "[t]urned to go to the court, her horse was frightened at the entrance of the doorway and the crown fell from her head, and all considered it to be a bad omen".³⁶ The key point was that the loss of her kingdom was portrayed as a result of bad luck and her sin; Jacques is not presented as being responsible for capturing the throne from his sister as Charlotte's supporters had argued, as seen in Chapter 1.

³⁴ Λεόντιος Μαχαιράς, *Χρονικό της Κύπρου-Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων*. Edited by Μιχάλης Πιερής and Αγγέλ Νικολάου-Κονναρή (Nicosia, 2003), pp.461-462.

³⁵ George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456-1489*. Edited by Paul W. Wallace and Andreas G. Orphanides. Translated by Nicholas Coureas and Hans A. Pohlsander (Nicosia, 2005), pp.77-78.

³⁶ Ibid., p.84.

Boustronios also defended Jacques rather than Charlotte, whom he presented as an incapable queen, contrary to that of the capable Jacques. The defence of Jacques' position, or better, the vindication that he had done nothing bad, was emphasised, while those around Charlotte were responsible for the permanent distance between the two siblings. Boustronios wrote that after Charlotte and Jacques' father had died, Jacques removed the ring from the king's finger and sent it to Charlotte swearing that from that time, he would live or die by her command. She replied that she loved him more than anybody else and that she would take care of him. But, her advisors were opposed to this and persuaded her to change her mind and to instruct him to come to the castle.³⁷ Boustronios thus criticising Charlotte's capacity as a queen regnant, argued that it was the queen's bad advisors who were responsible for the distance in the relations between the two siblings, rather than Jacques. This was a common literary device to accuse a monarch of being a bad ruler. Charlotte was the one who wronged her brother and who failed to act like a responsible ruler. Furthermore, Boustronios tried to explain why Jacques was obliged to go to the sultan of Egypt, and again underlined that he was forced to do so because of Charlotte's inadequacies. Soon after the October 1458 coronation in Nicosia, Jacques organised the attack by night of the queen's court and the massacre of her advisors, but not the queen. However, the plot was betrayed and Charlotte gave the order to arrest them, as a result of which Jacques decided to go to Egypt.³⁸ Boustronios reiterates that Jacques loved his sister and he would never hurt her. The fact that he visited the sultan is presented as the only possible thing he could have done, if he had not wanted to lose his life. In this way, Charlotte was indirectly presented again as making a wrong choice by not trusting her brother.

So far, Boustronios believed that Charlotte was a sinner for marrying her cousin. Moreover, she lacked the experience to understand that her advisors were not appropriate; to make matters worse, she was also unlucky at her coronation as her crown had fallen from her head. Additionally, she was wrong

³⁷ Ibid., pp.79-83.

³⁸ Ibid., pp.83-89.

to be mistrustful of her brother who only had love for her, and finally her husband was not well-liked by her people. For all these reasons, according to the chronicle, she lost her kingdom, though we might note that Boustronios did not suggest that her gender was in itself an issue. Of course, as Boustronios was close to Jacques, his account could be biased, but it is still the most vital contemporary source from the island of Cyprus. Finally, to be fair with Boustronios, we should say that his work addressed mainly the years of Charlotte's reign, not the exiled years when she tried to retake her kingdom.

Charlotte's exiled years were nonetheless described in greater detail in another contemporary source, that provided a far different image of the queen than the one described by Boustronios. Pius II's *Commentarii* was, in effect, Pius' autobiography completed at the end of 1463, encompassing thirteen books, weaving politics and religion together.³⁹ The pope's aim was to present a glossed story of his life, and service as pope.⁴⁰ His depiction of Charlotte contradicted that of Boustronios. To start with, in the sixth book of *Commentarii*, there is the first, but brief, mention of the two siblings, Charlotte and Jacques. Pius wrote that Jacques became the king of Cyprus illegally from his stepsister queen Charlotte, with the Egyptian sultan's help.⁴¹ Thus, from the first time Pius mentioned the conflict between the two siblings, he evidently sided with Charlotte rather than Jacques. In fact, the pope had nothing positive to say about Jacques, and did not even accept his envoy in Rome, as detailed in Chapter 1, thereby undermining the negotiations for a potential wedding between him and the daughter of Morea.⁴² According to Pope Pius, Charlotte is presented as the only legitimate queen of Cyprus.

In Book Seven, Pius wrote that Jacques sent a letter to Louis, without dating it, in the sultan's name, claiming that Cyprus was the sultan's property and that he wanted him and his wife to leave soon.⁴³ Pius detailed that

³⁹ Paul Sheeran, *Literature and International Relations: Stories in the Art of Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 2007), p.12.

⁴⁰ Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II, *I Commentarii*. Edited by Luigi Tataro, Vol. I (Milan, 2008), pp.4-5.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp.1158-1159: "Ad Pium, dum ista geruntur in Galliis, oratores ex Cypro venere episcopus Nimosiensis et insignis quidam doctor, ab eo missi qui, deturbato vero Rege, per arma Aegyptiorum sese regem constituerat. De rebus Cyprianis alio loco dicemus: nam et Regina paulo post regno pulsa ad Pontificem venit".

⁴² Boustronios, *Chronicle*, p.118.

⁴³ Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II, *I Commentarii*. Edited by Luigi Tataro, Vol. II (Milan, 2008), pp.1380-1381.

Charlotte and her husband tried their best to remain on the throne, and also that they had allies:

When the letter was received [in Cyprus], in the entire kingdom fear was spread and a great shock pervaded everyone, but they could not resist the commandments of the sultan, neither could they obey without infamy. In the end, incapable of finding a different remedy, they decided to send to the sultan legates, to try to sweeten him. Even [the Knights of] Rhodes sent the principals of the Order of Knights; who met the sultan in Cairo and tried with humble words to defend the cause of Louis, explaining to him that he had not come [to Cyprus from Savoy] to infringe his rights. [Previously,] Jean, king of Cyprus, from his marriage had only one daughter, Charlotte, and according to the Christian laws he left her as his heir. [On the contrary,] Jacques, borne of a concubine, was not expecting any right in the kingdom. It was legitimate that a husband was governing the kingdom in the name of his wife. [The envoy of] Rhodes urged [the sultan] not to disturb the customs of the kingdom and not prohibit that the Christians were ruled by Christian laws. Louis would be always a friend of the sultan and he would regularly pay the tribute to him. To Jacques, he would give every year for all his life, the amount of ten thousand ducats.⁴⁴

This is suggestive; Charlotte is presenting the Knights of Rhodes as supporters and also suggesting that, according to Christian laws, only she had the right to be the ruler of Cyprus.

The pope continued that a function of even more factors undermined Charlotte's authority as queen of Cyprus; she was, in short, unlucky. Other regional rulers around Cyprus preferred Jacques to her. The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed informed the Egyptian sultan that if he was to prefer the French Louis instead of Jacques as king of Cyprus, then:

knowing that they are going to be against you not only the Turks, but also the Egyptians, the Syrians and the Arabs, subject to you, they will hate you violently, and your own son would not stand beside you, as you would betray our religion in favour of a French man [Louis]. On the contrary, if you keep the faith to the promise given to Jacques and prepare a fleet

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.1380-1383: "His acceptis toto Regno trepidatum est, ingensque maeror omnium mentes pervasit, cum neque Soldani iussibus resistere possent, neque sine turpitudine oboedire. Postremo, cum remedium nullum aliud invenirent, legatos ad Soldanum mittere placuit, qui eius mentem lenirent. Miserunt et simul Rhodienses viros ex religione primarios qui, apud Cayrum convento Soldano, Ludovici causam humilibus verbis defendere conati sunt, nil eum de iure Soldani ablaturum venisse dicentes; Iohannem Cypri regem Karlottam filiam unicam ex matrimonio suscepisse, quam secundum Christianas leges reliquisset heredem; Iacobo, ex concubina nato, regnum nequaquam deberi; maritum pro coniuge coronae iura sortiri; hortari ne Regni consuetudines confunderet, neve Christianis christiana inter se iura negaret; Ludovicum Soldano in omne tempus amicum futurum, tributumque suis temporibus praestiturum, Iacoboque decem milia auri numum singulis annis quoad viveret traditurum".

against Cyprus, then Mehmed will set up another [fleet] against Rhodes and yours would be the booty done in both the islands. Mehmed desires only that is reserved to him the possession of the island of Rhodes.⁴⁵

Thus, not only did the sultan of Egypt prefer Jacques, but other regional princes did so too, as they did not want a French ruler in power, suggesting that the choice of Louis as Charlotte's husband was ill-conceived.

Thereafter, the *Commentarii* focused on Charlotte's exile, detailing her visit to Rome in October 1461, and her reception there as a queen in exile. As explained in Chapter 1, Pius has nothing but positive things to say about the exiled queen:

Charlotte, leaving her husband [in Cyprus], arrived again in Rhodes, and then being desperate, she travelled westward and landed on the Ostia on the Tiber desiring to get to Rome and visit the Vicar of Christ. After she sent messengers to announce her arrival, she went to the bend of the river and the around land close to the Church of San Paolo [fuori le mura]. The pope gave the order to the cardinals and the entire Curia to have a meeting with her and then to receive her in public audience in Sala del Concistoro. [The pope] gave her and her retinue accommodation in an isolated part of the palace and she were hosted with magnificence. She was a twenty-four-year-old woman of average height, with smiling eyes, brown pale skin tone and not with lack of grace. Her speech was convincing and emphatic in the Greek way. She was dressed according to the French custom and her poise was worthy of a real princess.⁴⁶

Charlotte is presented by Pius (in contrast to Boustronios) as a convincing orator in her efforts to secure support. In the first meeting, Charlotte kissed the pope's feet and said very few words whilst crying.⁴⁷ In the next audience, on the following day, she spoke to him in front of few people saying that

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.1384-1385: "nec tibi cum solis Turchis inimicitias futuras putes: Aegyptii, Syri et Arabes, quibus praees, summo te odio persequentur; nec tuus tibi filius haerebit, qui religionem nostram Gallicano sanguini prodideris. Quod si promissam fidem Iacobo servaveris classemque pararis in Cyprios, Maumethes quoque alteram parabit in Rhodios; et utriusque insulae spolia tua erunt. Solum tantum insulae Rhodiae Maumethes sibi servatum cupit".

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.1386-1387: "Karlotta, viro dimisso, iterum contendit Rhodum; aerumnarum deinde plena in Occidentem navigans, tyberina cum appulisset ostia, Romam et Christi vicarium visere statuit, missisque nuntiis qui aditum peterent, adverso flumine vecta, apud aedem Sancti Pauli descendit in terram. Pontifex cardinales et universam Curiam iussit occurrere advenientemque in aula consistorii publice excepit, ac deinde in parte Palatii seorsum collocavit, cibariaque illi et familiae magnifice administravit. Mulier quattuor et viginti annos nata videbatur; statura mediocri; aetis oculis; facie inter fuscam et pallidam, non sine gratia; sermone blando et Graecorum more torrenti; vestitu gallico, moribus qui region sanguine convenirent".

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.1386-1389.

Being the only child of a legitimate [royal] wedding, I was educated by the parents to be prepared to reign. Succeeded my father [in 1458] and obtained the title of the queen, I started ruling together with my husband. But, a brother, if he can be called a brother one that persecutes his own blood, born out of a wedding, went to search for aid in Egypt and usurped my heredity, occupied the kingdom, tried to kill me and my consort. Our only refuge was at [the castle of] Cerines. There, we escaped from the murderous hands of the hostile brother.⁴⁸

She underlined the fact that the bastard pseudo-Christian brother and his supporters were fighting against Christianity's interests, as the Muslim Egyptians were controlling Cyprus with an aim of destroying every Christian temple.⁴⁹ According to Pius's record, as Charlotte explained, she tried her best to regain her throne and defeat the Muslims, but the Venetians raided her fleet and took all her treasures, leaving her with little food and just one set of clothes.⁵⁰ Charlotte was evidently seeking help, saying that in spite of the fact that Cyprus was mainly Orthodox, it was still a Christian land, threatened by Muslims. Thereafter, Rhodes and Crete would suffer the same fate. The next step would be the barbarian fleet disembarking in Sicily and even in Italy. Egyptians, as well as Africans, Syrians, Asians and Greeks would attack Italy.⁵¹ Pius presents the Muslims as barbarous people, largely because he was trying to lead a new crusade as explained in Part I of this thesis.

In terms of the treatment given by Pius, he talked fondly to the young queen and explained to her that she was paying for others' sins, rather than as Boustronios stated because of marriage to her first cousin. Thus, Charlotte's loss of her kingdom was explained in morally judgmental terms. According to the *Commentarii*, Pope Pius told her that her mother, Eleni Palaeologina had not obeyed the Church's orders as she remained Orthodox; the poor Charlotte was paying for her sins. Also, she was paying for the sins of her father-in-law and duke of Savoy, Louis, and husband Louis, who in Mandua's meeting refused to help in any way for the war against the Turks, in contrast to all the

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.1388-1389: "Unicam ex matrimonio filiam in spem regni parentes educaverunt. Successi patri et, Reginae nomen adepta, cum viro coepi regnare. Frater extra matrimonium natus, si frater est qui sanguinem suum persequitur, auxiliis ab Augepto quaesitis, hereditatem meam invadit; Regnum occupat; me atque virum ad necem quaerit. Unicum nobis refugium apud Cerines servatum est. Illic cruentas evasimus infesti germani manus".

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.1388-1391.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.1388-1391.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp.1390-1393.

other princes of Italy. Since he believed that “[t]he House of Savoy was not interested in looking after the Church, and it is not even worthy to promises help to the religion”, he announced to the cardinals that he had decided to help Charlotte, giving her everything she asked for: horses, the expenses to visit her parents-in-law, as well as wheat and wine from Ancona. Everything was thus ready for Charlotte to go to Savoy and France to find help for retaking Cyprus.⁵² Without his help as Pius stated, she would not be able to travel by sea for lack of food, and not by land for lack of horses and money.⁵³ The *Commentarii* added that Pope Pius was not alone in recognising Charlotte as queen in exile. As he wrote, on her way to Savoy, she passed from Siena, Florence, Bologna and other states. Following the pope’s example, “[e]veryone received the queen with great honours, in accordance with her [royal] title”.⁵⁴ This suggests that although Charlotte had lost her kingdom, she had not lost her royal title and sovereign status. In spite of this support, Charlotte remained unlucky as Savoy, according to Pius, offered little support for the exiled queen. In Savoy as Pius wrote, Charlotte had a less than warm welcome, amid suspicions of her stay. Her father-in-law underlined the issue of gender by asking her, “[I]s it an honest thing that a young lady, leaving her husband [in Cyprus] got in the sea from East to West? Is it also [acceptable] that is looking for hospitality in all those states? [...] This was an action appropriate for your husband, not for you”.⁵⁵ Soon after, the tearful Charlotte left Savoy for Mantua, Venice and Rhodes. She never went to France, as she had planned to, as after she visited Savoy she discovered the real character of the Alpine princes: selfish and meagre, as Pius wrote.⁵⁶

Pius’s gloss should be contextualised: he did not have good relations with the Savoyards and the French, and the fact that Charlotte was not given aid, did not seem to surprise him. The answer to that was mainly the fact that earlier in the fifteenth century he wrote, Savoy had caused troubles to the

⁵² Ibid., pp.1392-1395.

⁵³ Ibid., pp.1390-1391.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.1394-1395: “Tutti accolsero la regina con grandi onori, in conformità con il suo titolo”.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp.1394-1397: “Quae honestas mulierem iuvenem, relicto viro, ab Ortu in Occidentem navigare, tot aliena hospitia quaerere? [...] At istaec virum decebat magis quaerere”.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.1395-1397.

papacy, not least because one of its members had been an antipope, Felix V. In fact, Chapter 8 of his *Commentarii* discussed the problems that the Savoyard ambassadors caused to the papacy,⁵⁷ demonstrating how serious and dangerous the situation was. The first duke of Savoy, Amedeo VIII (r. 1416-1440), had been Antipope Felix V (r. 1439-1449), at a time that both France and the Holy Roman Empire wanted to elect their own candidates.⁵⁸ This could have presented significant problems for the papacy, if Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447-1455) had not managed to triumph against the antipopes for good.⁵⁹ Accordingly, Pius had reasons to write negatively against Savoy, and to suggest that Charlotte paid for the sins of her husband's predecessors, given that he had an Orthodox mother and a family-in-law that had caused serious problems for the papacy. For these reasons, according to Pius, she lost her throne.

Having discussed two fundamental textual sources, Charlotte is not presented as having an idealised image in either. Boustronios characterised Charlotte as immature, an unlucky and weak ruler, a sinner, a queen with bad advisors. On the other side, Pius presented her as the only legitimate ruler of Cyprus, an educated woman, a queen in exile who was trying to return to her kingdom, but this was not possible because she was paying for the sins of her relatives, she was not supported enough by Savoy and she did not have a capable husband. Thereby, both Boustronios and Pius are not impartial authors, as their descriptions are not absolutely objective. Rhetoric, the art of persuasion, is used by both authors. Boustronios, as a friend of Jacques II, argued that Jacques was the legitimate ruler of Cyprus while Charlotte was not. Pius had no good relations with Savoy and wanted to organise a new crusade. Accordingly, the only legitimate ruler of Cyprus was Charlotte, a real Christian queen. By contrast, Pius argued that Jacques was illegitimate and supported by Muslims, an argument that allowed Pius to "invest" in the emotional feelings of the audience and also to bend the audience to his interests in a crusade against the Muslims.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.1396-1417.

⁵⁸ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. II. The Fifteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1978), p.65.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.107.

To continue, the chapter now addresses how she was presented in the visual sources. Unfortunately, the iconographical sources produced of the queen in her lifetime are limited in number. There are two frescoes in Rome, both of which focus on her devotional identity while in exile. “[P]ortraiture always tends to be a representation in a twofold sense”; it demonstrates the typical demands and ideals of a given role. It also tries to convince viewers that the sitter “complies with that role and thereby is entitled to certain rank and identity in society”.⁶⁰ Having this in mind, we should see how Charlotte is presented in these two frescoes. We should remember that when the paintings were located in palaces or rooms with limited access, it meant that they were probably commissioned or bought and were to be viewed by few people, those living there and their elite visitors.⁶¹ It should also be mentioned that both frescoes were created during the reign of Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484), Rome’s benefactor, “patron of letters, art and architecture”⁶², who dreamed of restoring the city “to its ancient grandeur”⁶³ and to enhance its devotional resources.⁶⁴ His urban programme included the Sistine Chapel and the rebuilding of older churches,⁶⁵ the construction of the *Ponte Sisto*,⁶⁶ the reformation of *La Sapienza Università*⁶⁷ and the opening of the Vatican Library,⁶⁸ which included his collections of books and manuscripts.⁶⁹

The first fresco can be seen in the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, a church founded by Innocent III (r. 1198-1216).⁷⁰ The complete rebuilding project of Sixtus IV in Santo Spirito was part of the project of the Sistine Chapel.⁷¹ The new building was to be an asylum for orphans and hospital for poor people and

⁶⁰ Johannesson, “portrait”, 27.

⁶¹ Ibid., 27-28.

⁶² Christopher Hibbert, *Rome: The Biography of a City* (London, 1985), p.128.

⁶³ Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1998), p.209.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.9.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.9.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Temple, *Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism and Ceremony in the Rome of Julius II* (London, 2011), p.47.

⁶⁷ Hibbert, *Rome*, p.128.

⁶⁸ Stinger, *Renaissance*, p.286.

⁶⁹ Hibbert, *Rome*, p.128.

⁷⁰ Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo. Translated by Alice Sedwick Wohl* (Oxford, 1976), p.137.

⁷¹ Temple, *Renovatio*, p.48.

pilgrims, and was completed by 1482.⁷² In the Corsia Sistina a series of scenes was created by the so-called School of Melozzo da Forlì, thirty six frescoes that were finished in 1478.⁷³ Six honoured Innocent III depicting him in scenes related to the hospital who he had funded. Thirty depict Sixtus, from his birth and early life to the great moments of his career, such as the construction of the hospital. Five of these thirty paintings, depict Sixtus receiving elite visitors from various parts of Europe.⁷⁴ One of these six frescoes shows Pope Sixtus IV receiving Queen Charlotte (Fig.3), behind whom are members of her court, among them Hugo de Langlois and Louis Podocataro.⁷⁵ The Pope is depicted blessing her, an event that took place on 8 June 1475.⁷⁶ Charlotte is on her knees wearing a cross necklace as a sign of devotion, and she has a crown on her head, emphasising her sovereignty. This is a major image for Charlotte, depicting her being accepted and blessed by Sixtus IV, aside from Pope Pius, another pope who recognised her as Cyprus's legitimate ruler. The fact that this is included in a series of scenes depicting the most important moments of Sixtus's reign, is itself a marker of Charlotte's ascribed importance as a sovereign queen.

The other Roman fresco is on the perimeter wall of the Sistine Chapel, construction of which probably began in 1475⁷⁷ - the frescoes were created between 1481 and 1483⁷⁸, and depict sixteen scenes from the Old and New Testament, with Pietro Perugino as the lead artist alongside Sandro Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Bernardino Pintoricchio, Cosimo Rosselli and Luca Signorelli.⁷⁹ The Florentine artist Rosselli created four frescoes, "The Last Supper", "Sermon on the Mount", "The giving of the Law" and "The Crossing of the Red Sea". In "Sermon of the Mount and Healing of the Lepel" (Fig.4a),

⁷² Condivi, *Michelangelo*, pp.137-138.

⁷³ Minou Schraven, "Founding Rome Anew. Pope Sixtus IV and the Foundation of Ponte Sisto, 1473" in Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, eds., *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2012), 135-137.

⁷⁴ Condivi, *Michelangelo*, p.138.

⁷⁵ Joachim G. Joachim, "Caterina Cornaro and the Throne of Cyprus" in David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989), 71.

⁷⁶ Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. III: The Frankish Period, 1432-1571* (Cambridge, 1948), p.603.

⁷⁷ Condivi, *Michelangelo*, p.145.

⁷⁸ Stinger, *Renaissance*, p.209.

⁷⁹ Charles Seymour, *Michelangelo: The Sistine Chapel Ceiling* (London, 1972), p.70.

Jesus and his followers are wearing contemporary clothes, while other figures dressed in fifteenth century costumes.⁸⁰ Indeed, some of the frescoes allude to modern events. For example “The Crossing of the Red Sea” is inspired by Sixtus IV’s 1482 victory in Campo Morto, when he defeated Alfonso of Calabria.⁸¹ It is commonly understood that in “The Sermon on the Mount” Charlotte is depicted on the left part of the fresco, according to an established iconographical convention (Fig.4b).⁸² The fresco depicts Jesus standing elevated in the centre, teaching the disciples and onlookers, with Jesus in the right healing a leper.⁸³ Charlotte is placed in the mercy position amongst the disciples, significantly without her crown on the head - Jesus is the only figure adorned with a crown. Charlotte’s figure here, as in the previous painting, conveys her piety, as she is presented as a servant of the God.



Fig. 3 Melozzo da Forlì, *Pope Sixtus IV receiving Queen Charlotte* (1478), Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.

⁸⁰ Robert B. Kruschwitz, “Introduction” in Robert B. Kruschwitz, ed., *Sermon on the Mount (Christian Reflection: A series in Faith and Ethics)* (Waco TX, 2008), 10; Heidi J. Hornick, “The Sermon on the Mount in Christian Art” in Robert B. Kruschwitz, ed., *Sermon on the Mount (Christian Reflection: A series in Faith and Ethics)* (Waco TX, 2008), 49-50.

⁸¹ Condivi, *Michelangelo*, p.145.

⁸² Francesco Boni de Nobili, *Caterina Cornaro: Dal Regno di Cipro, alla Signoria di Asolo* (Godega di Sant’Urbano, 2012), p.34.

⁸³ Ian Boxall, *Matthew Through the Centuries* (Oxford, 2019), p.109.



Fig. 4 (a) Cosimo Rosselli, *Sermon of the Mount and Healing of the Leper* (1481-1482), Sistine Chapel in Vatican, Rome.



Fig.4 (b). Detail.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the fifteenth-century image of Charlotte differed in Cypriot and Italian sources. On the one hand, Boustronios, the chronicler and friend of Jacques II, focussed on Charlotte's bad luck, immaturity, bad advisors and feminine nature. On the other hand, Pius provided information mainly about the exiled years of the queen, underlining that Charlotte was the only legitimate queen of Cyprus; while she had supporters in exile, she was unlucky as Savoy did not provide appropriate support, while regional powers, including the sultan of Egypt, preferred her illegitimate brother

as ruler of Cyprus. At the least, Pius presented Charlotte as a queen in exile who tried her best to retake her kingdom. As for the two paintings that depict Charlotte, they underline a third image of the queen, a queen in exile shaped by profound religiosity and blessed by the pope. Of course, the aim is not to choose which image was closer to the real Charlotte, but to see how she was presented in various contemporary sources, including which parts of her character are shown and why.

Caterina as queen in Cyprus: the view of George Boustronios, Marco Antonio Sabellico, Pietro Bembo and Domenico Malipiero

Having considered Charlotte's representations in the first part of this chapter, it is time to present Caterina Cornaro's images from the contemporary written and visual sources. However, because the amount of information given in these sources is more substantial than that for Charlotte, the sources are divided into two parts. The first focuses on Caterina Cornaro in Cyprus as queen of the island. Then, in the next part, her profile in exile, after her return to her motherland is analysed. Like the case of Charlotte, her contemporary image will be explained to determine if it conveys piety, demonstrates inner values, reflects wisdom or is idealised.

In terms of Caterina as queen, there are only four relevant written sources and no visual sources. We will start from Boustronios, the Cypriot chronicler. As he wrote for the period from 1456 until 1489, his chronicle includes the entire period of Caterina's reign as queen of Cyprus. Thus, it is a fundamental source for understanding Caterina as queen, if not as an exiled queen. As discussed in Chapter 2, Caterina arrived on the island in 1472, but her husband, Jacques did not live long, dying soon after in July 1473. So, the key point about Boustronios's source is that it examines Caterina as a sole female ruler. As he wrote after Jacques death, "[e]very liegeman gave an oath

to the queen”⁸⁴ and soon after, both Caterina and Charlotte sent envoys to the sultan of Egypt. However, Charlotte’s envoy was not received by the sultan.⁸⁵ These two facts seemed promising for Caterina as she would have peace in Cyprus and good relations with the sultan, and overlord of the island she was ruling.

Caterina’s principal problem as a ruling sole queen as explained in Chapter 2, was her incapacity to rule on her own, because of her young age and inexperience. Boustronios, the only commentator in Cyprus, does not write that Caterina was a weak ruler with no real power in her hands; but he stressed that Venice consistently supported her and maintained a military presence on the island. Soon after Jacques’s death, Venice informed Caterina that it would provide her with support as she was a young widow and was pregnant. This is clear from a letter that the young queen received on the 30 October 1473 sent from the Venetian authorities, which Boustronios included:

We learnt of the king’s death and were greatly saddened. Secondly, we have learnt that the whole island is at peace and that all the lord’s desire you to be the queen, and we have derived great pleasure from this. Take care as far as possible to be mindful of your life and that of your child, and do not concern yourself over other matters! For we too wish to offer you assistance in whatever matters you require it. We have, moreover, written to the commander of the fleet, [instructing him] to send you five galleys to be at your service. Furthermore, notify us should you have any additional requirement!⁸⁶

Except those galleys sent by Venice, Boustronios presented additional information that clearly suggests the fact that Venice gradually annexed the island. On 20 August 1473, nine days before Caterina gave birth to Jacques III, sixty Venetian galleys stopped in Famagusta.⁸⁷ Also, on February 1474, the General Captain of the Venetian fleet arrived with twelve galleys plus four

⁸⁴ Boustronios, Chronicle, p.120.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.125-127.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.130.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.123.

galleasses.⁸⁸ However, we do not know if Caterina had the power to refuse the help.

Another vital letter included in Boustronios' chronicle was written in January 1474 by Simon de Sant'Andrea, the abbot of Holy Cross, a monastery of Cyprus. The letter clearly presents Caterina as a weak person having no power to react against Venice's over-arching will: "[B]esides, it is in dire straits, and is now stands in the hands of the Venetians, which means that we have escaped from the clutches of a dog and fallen into [those of] a swine".⁸⁹

Moreover, Caterina as a young widow, was expected to decide to marry again and give birth to more children. However, Boustronios presents her as unable to decide for her own personal life, underscoring an image of a weak ruler, or even of a victim of the expansionist intentions of Venice. Boustronios wrote that Caterina came in 1485 to an agreement with King Ferdinando of Naples to marry his illegitimate son Don Alonzo.⁹⁰ But Venice stopped it from happening and sent Caterina back to Venice. However, Caterina until the end of her reign was popular among the Cypriots who loved her and gave her a farewell with honours. On the 15 February 1489 as Boustronios stated,

The queen exited from Nicosia in order to go to Famagusta, to leave [Cyprus]. And she went on horseback wearing a black silken cloak, with all the ladies and the knights in her company [and six knights by her bridle and flanking her horse]. Her eyes, moreover, did not cease to shed tears throughout the procession. The people likewise shed many tears. Besides, there were men drawn up, and all the soldiers had come to Nicosia. And as soon as she came out of the court, they let up the cry: "Marco! Marco!" [In addition, on their arrival in Famagusta jousts were organised]. And on 1 March [in the year] of Christi 1489 she entered the galley and went to Venice.

Since Boustronios is the only source written by a Cypriot, we have to turn to Venetian sources for further insights into Caterina's identity as queen. To start with, the first source was written by Marco Antonio Sabellico, a man from a wealthy but not noble family, and who became Venice's first official

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.151.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.151.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.172-173.

historiographer.⁹¹ He was hired by Venice in 1484 and was paid to write his “Dell’ Historia Venitiana”, comprising thirty three books, mainly written in Verona where he moved in 1484 because of a plague.⁹² Sabellico also wrote poems, pamphlets about legal and political issues, prayers and epistles.⁹³

According to Sabellico, two years before Caterina’s departure from Cyprus in 1489, she was dependent on protection from her husband and Venice and it seems again that she did not have an image of a strong queen capable of ruling the island herself. She is presented as being powerless, as in the Boustronios source. Sabellico’s history, published in 1487,⁹⁴ included some comments related to Caterina Cornaro in Cyprus. In the ninth book, Sabellico added some information about Jacques II’s death, adding that when he was ill, Mocenigo, the Venetian General Captain, went to see him and they talked.⁹⁵ Jacques told him

I see and I feel, my excellent captain that I suffer from a serious affliction, and I know that my life is similarly put in extreme danger. And to say the truth, I do not have any hope of salvation. So, I leave as my heir my beloved Consort pregnant with the creature that will be born. [Caterina] as you know is daughter of Marco Cornaro, but by me was taken in marriage as Daughter of the Signoria of Venice. Therefore, as I greatly doubt, if I pass away, I recommend you, Venetians, my wife along with my kingdom. And I beg you for the love that is among us and for the majesty of the empire to defend her when she is in need with the child and the entire kingdom from any insult.⁹⁶

Mocenigo replied that if Jacques were to die, “when will be necessary, he with the Venetian forces would never fail to help and conserve her”.⁹⁷ In this way,

⁹¹ Daria Perocco, , “Caterina Cornaro nella «Istoria Viniziana» di Pietro Bembo”, *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. XXV (1993), 154.

⁹² Francesco Tateo, “Marcantonio Coccio, detto Marcantonio Sabellico” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 26 (1982).

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Marco Antonio Sabellico, *Dell’ Historia Venitiana di Marco Antonio Sabellico* (Venice, 1668), p.472.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.472: “Io veggo, & sento, ò eccellente Capitano, esser afflitto da gravissimo morbo, & conosco la mia vita essere similmente ridotta in sommo pericolo. Et per dire il vero, io non hò alcuna speranza di salute. Onde io lascio herede la amantissima mia Consorte gravita con la creatura, che di poi nascerà. La quale come sapete è figliVola di Marco Cornaro, ma da me tolta in matrimonio come figliVola della Signoria di Venetia. Se adunque, come grandemente dubito, mancarò di vita, raccomando à voi Venitiani la mia donna insieme col Regno mio. Et voi prego per l’amore, che è tra noi, & per la maesta dell’Imperio à diffender quella quando bisognerà col figliuolo, & tutto il Regno da ogni ingiutia”.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.472: “Ma quando altro occoresse, ne egli nelle forze Venitiane mai verrebbero meno allo aiuto, & conservatione de suoi”.

according to Sabellico, the republic was not controlling Caterina, but rather was looking after her and respecting Jacque's will.

Moving on, Pietro Bembo was the third official historiographer of Venice after Sabellico and then, in 1516, Andrea Navagero. Andrea was working on the compendium from 1516 until 1529. However, while he was attending a diplomatic mission in France, he became ill and died, destroying his manuscripts because he was dying. Under these circumstances, the Venetian authorities had to recommission the work from someone else. They finally chose Bembo,⁹⁸ a Venetian nobleman who had studied philosophy at the universities of Padua and Ferrara.⁹⁹ Apart from the history, he wrote poems, dialogues and essays, in Latin but in the local dialect as well¹⁰⁰ and he became an editor of various Latin works, such as Cicero. He also printed some vernacular texts, mainly of Petrarch and Dante.¹⁰¹ In the twelve books of his history, Bembo focused on the period 1487-1513,¹⁰² but his History of Venice was finished in 1544.¹⁰³ However, as he was alive when Caterina was alive, his source is included here with contemporary sources. Bembo included information about Caterina that helps in the understanding of the image of the queen back in the fifteenth century.

Regarding Caterina's years in Cyprus, in Book I, Bembo described briefly her in such a way that again Venice is presented helping Caterina remaining on her throne. He narrated that after Jacques III died and was succeeded by Caterina as sole ruler, some of the local aristocrats organised an uprising to seize power themselves, but Venice quickly sent a fleet and stopped them.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, Bembo also verified that Caterina might have married a son of King Ferdinando of Naples, something that the republic opposed, as Naples was a

⁹⁸ Robert W. Ulery, "Introduction" in Pietro Bembo, *History of Venice*, Edited by Robert W. Ulery, Vol. I (London, 2007), p.ix.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.ix-x.

¹⁰⁰ Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470-1790: The Renaissance and its Heritage* (London, 1972), p.98.

¹⁰¹ Ulery, "Introduction", pp.x-xii

¹⁰² Ibid., xi-xii; Perocco, "Caterina di Bembo", 154-156.

¹⁰³ Lina Bolzoni, "Gli Asolani di Pietro Bembo: Un ritratto doppio della corte, dell'amore, della poesia" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 139.

¹⁰⁴ Bembo, *History I*, pp.40-41.

competitor. Venice became so worried they told Giorgio Cornaro to go to Cyprus and convince his sister to give the throne urgently to Venice and then go back with him to Venice.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Bembo did not say if this would be dangerous for the security of the island or only for Venice's expanding plans. But, Bembo presented Caterina's return to Venice as an improvement of her fortunes. He commented that Caterina "[w]as to be urged to live out what remained of her life in her own country and among her own people, in security and tranquillity, rather than trust herself and her life to foreigners on a remote island of uncertain loyalty".¹⁰⁶

As mentioned earlier, according to Boustronios, Caterina left the island in tears. Bembo also verified that she wanted to donate her kingdom to Venice upon her death, as she wanted to remain the queen of Cyprus until the end of her life. However, Venice did not agree and the powerless Caterina could do nothing more than obey. Caterina's brother Giorgio was accordingly sent to Cyprus and convinced her to return to her motherland explaining to her that without Venice's aid she was powerless and the island was surrounded by enemies, mainly the Turkish fleet.¹⁰⁷ Bembo's narration continued, with the queen's reply, underlining the sense that Caterina preferred to stay in Cyprus. With tears she replied that if this is your view, my brother, it is mine too, or rather I shall tell my heart it is so; but our fatherland will receive my kingdom more from you than from me.¹⁰⁸ This clearly suggests that Caterina did not want to leave, but only did so because her brother asked her to. Of course, we cannot ascertain that the things happened exactly like this. Bembo possibly used a degree of literary licence, or, maybe this was the "acceptable" narrative as guided by Venice. Besides, his role was to glorify Venice, not to write what might seem to be a balanced biography of Caterina. Whatever the case, this melodramatic representation of the dialogue between Caterina and Giorgio would inspire many subsequent artists, as Chapter 6 discusses. In general, reading the above information Bembo included about Caterina, it is obvious that

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.38-41.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.43.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.40-47.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.46-49.

he was principally concerned with the dialogue between her and her brother, which had taken place in Cyprus, as it was a determining factor for the history of Venice, when Giorgio convinced his sister to return.

Taking a step back from the detail, what is striking from the accounts of Boustronios, Sabellico, and Bembo is what was left unsaid as much as what was recorded. They made no comment about the controversy between Charlotte and Caterina over Cyprus. Sabellico barely touched on Cyprus and Caterina Cornaro, while Boustronios focused on the administration of the island. Besides, Charlotte had already departed, so he had no reason to address her reign or exile, and he did not focus on Caterina's time in exile either. As for Bembo, he included more information. He emphasised all the advantages Caterina had by returning to Venice, demonstrating that the decision to return was only a positive one. Finally, the two official histories mentioned above contain gaps in the explanation as to why Caterina had to leave Cyprus. On the contrary, the private source of Domenico Malipiero brought to light important aspects on Caterina's lack of power and weak image that we would not have by any other means.

Domenico Malipiero had a military career, serving in the Venetian army and navy; he became Captain of the Sea in 1483, and in 1510 became a member of the Council of Ten.¹⁰⁹ Maliepo's "Annali Veneti" is a source written privately, like most of the chronicles from the period, an annual record of events from 1457 to 1500 that are related to Venice's history. However, it remained only in manuscript form until its publication in 1843-1844.¹¹⁰ Malipiero's source demonstrated clearly that during Caterina's personal reign, Venice, and not Caterina, was informed of potential dangers, and was also doing everything necessary to keep away any potential claimant of Cyprus. The most immediate threat came from Charlotte, who tried to re-take the island in 1475. The Venetian College was informed that the duchess of Savoy, Anne, had sent help to Charlotte in order that she would retake her kingdom from Caterina.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Giuseppe Gullino, "Domenico Malipiero" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 68 (2007).

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Domenico Malipiero, "Annali Veneti", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VII (1844), 604-605.

Secondly, in July 1475, King Ferdinando of Naples sent his son Alfonso to Egypt with a naval force to capture Cyprus for Charlotte's benefit. Venice was informed and responded immediately by sending the General Captain, Antonio Loredan, with a force to ensure the security of the kingdom.¹¹² Thirdly, in August 1478, Bernardo Bembo, ambassador of Florence, confiscated Charlotte's letters sent from Rome to Genoa, in which she required asking for armed galleys to be sent first to Rhodes and then onto Alexandria, and then together with Ferdinando's galleys they would go to Cyprus. To persuade the Genoese, Charlotte offered the use of the galleys to recapture Famagusta. Once again, the General Captain was sent on time to secure the kingdom.¹¹³ Evidently, Cyprus was so vital for Venice that it had informants to supply the movements of Charlotte so it could act immediately when it was necessary. Caterina was not mentioned at all here, no matter that she was the ruler of Cyprus. It seems like she had little political agency of her own.

In general, the above sources do not present a different image of Caterina from one to the other. It is understandable from all of them that Caterina was never a strong and powerful ruler, but a young woman who happened to be a queen. She was married because of a political agreement between Jacques and Venice, as Malipiero specified, and then she was surrounded by Venetian authorities after the death of her husband, as Boustronios wrote. But, that happened only because of Jacques's last will, as Sabellico explained. Besides, as Bembo continued, if Venice was not close to Caterina, then she would not be able to remain all these years a queen in the island. In this way, Caterina was presented as unable to rule the kingdom of Cyprus herself, thus finally donating it to Venice in 1489.

¹¹² Ibid., 605.

¹¹³ Ibid., 607-608.

Caterina as queen in exile: the textual histories of Pietro Bembo and Marino Sanudo, visual representations and poems

This final part considers how Caterina was presented in two contemporary Venetian sources, those of Pietro Bembo and Marino Sanudo, to understand more her image as an exiled queen. Bembo, as official historiographer of Venice, provided the fact that Caterina was officially welcomed by her compatriots with every formality as if she were still a queen. As he stated, as soon as she returned, the doge Agostino Barbarino welcomed her in the church of San Niccolò dei Mendicoli with the Venetian senators, while Venice's elites welcomed her following her boat. She was the first Venetian woman who entered Venice on the Bucentaur.¹¹⁴ Bembo recorded that Caterina lived in luxury as she was still recognised as a queen. As he mentioned, the Council of Ten offered her Asolo and she accepted it. Moreover, she was to have a pension of fifty pounds of gold per year as well as an immediate present of ten pounds of ducats.¹¹⁵ Bembo evidently focused on the things that Caterina gained on her return, the confirmation of her status and money, without any comment about what prohibitions she would have from the republic. Unfortunately, Bembo did not detail Caterina's relations with the Venetian authorities in Venice. Consequently, there is no indication as to whether she refused to move to Asolo, if she was still controlled, or "protected" as Bembo said about the years of Cyprus, by Venice, who was attending her court and if she had any personal power. What mattered for Bembo was the Republic's reputation, shedding light only on the good aspects of its history. That was why there is no information about Caterina's later life.

Marino Sanudo's diary served as another valuable source. Sanudo, as is well-known, was a chronicler and a politician¹¹⁶ who came from a leading

¹¹⁴ Bembo, *History I*, pp.48-49.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

¹¹⁶ Robert Finlay, "The Venetian Republic as a gerontocracy: age and politics in the Renaissance" in Robert Finlay, ed., *Politics and Diplomacy in the Italian Wars, 1494-1534* (Hampshire, 2008), iv. 175.

family¹¹⁷ and had studied Latin philology and attended lessons of history, poetry, philosophy and rhetoric.¹¹⁸ His “*Diarii*” were in manuscript form until the late nineteenth century - they were published between 1879 and 1903 in fifty eight volumes, covering the period between 1496 and 1533. His access to information was certainly impressive, coming as it did from inside the ducal palace and the republic’s official legislative bodies, ambassadorial information and the Venetian streets, facts that affect the reliability of this material.¹¹⁹ At the same time, Sanudo helped in the understanding Caterina’s identity during her lifetime, as he was a friend of Giorgio Cornaro, Caterina’s brother.¹²⁰ Additionally, the author brought to light some aspects of queen’s life after her return to Venice that Bembo, the official historiographer of Venice, failed to mention.

Sanudo is a valuable source for detailing Caterina’s visit to Brescia in 1497. As the information of this event from the source of Sanudo had already been discussed in Chapter 2, it is essential to underline here that the *Diarii* confirm that although Caterina no longer ruled Cyprus, wherever she stopped on her trip to Brescia, in Brescia itself, and on the way back to Asolo, she was formally welcomed as a queen. As Sanudo stated, “[f]or this event, the people of Brescia gave a great honour to her [Caterina] and spent ten thousand ducats to honour her and prepare a giostra [a cavalry game of aristocracy]”,¹²¹ underlining the formality and magnificence of the event. Also in Dezan, a town in Lake Garda, Caterina was formally received as queen of Cyprus by her brother and mayor Giorgio Cornaro.¹²² Moreover, “[t]he next day that Caterina entered in that territory [Brescia], a musical celebration was organised, then a speech [was read] by Master Joanne Baptista d’Apian, a doctor, and the

¹¹⁷ Patricia H. Labalme and Laura Sanguineti-White, eds., *Venice, Città Excellentissima: Selections from the Renaissance Diaries of Marin Sanudo* (Baltimore, 2008), pp.xxv.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.xxvi.

¹¹⁹ Robert Finlay, “Politics and History in the Diary of Marino Sanudo”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 33, 4 (1980), 586-588.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 588.

¹²¹ Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii. Edited by Visentini cav. Federico*, Vol. I (Venice, 1879), p.741: “Per la qual cossa, brexani terminono farli grande honor, et spender duc.10 milia in honorarla et farli una zostra”.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.741.

community gave a present to the queen of royal standards”.¹²³ Meanwhile, various Venetians travelled to attend this magnificent event too, among them Francesco Mocenigo, further confirmation of the level of honour conferred on Caterina.¹²⁴ All these details clearly demonstrate that Caterina was treated by everyone in this trip as a queen. Also, it suggests that in the eyes of her compatriots, Caterina remained a queen.

Moreover, Sanudo presented Caterina as queen even in death. He wrote that when she died, the brothers-in-law of Giorgio Cornaro and procurators Batista Morexini and Alvise Malipiero, with the advocate Nicolò Dolfim, went to the Signoria (the ducal palace) to announce that Caterina, the queen of Cyprus and sister of the illustrious Giorgio Cornaro, had passed away. Subsequently, she bequeathed her dowry of around 100,000 ducats to her brother, Giorgio. In the formal death announcement, Caterina was called “la Serenissima rayna di Cipri”, a title that clearly signalled she was a queen in exile, even in death. Later on, Sanudo wrote that the two brothers-in-law had also invited all the members of Signoria to Caterina’s funeral in Santi Apostoli, after a funeral procession from San Cassiano. All the Pregadi (Senators), the archbishop and the bishops would attend the event.¹²⁵ In effect, she had an official, state funeral, fit for a queen.

Aside from written sources, there are a few contemporary images of Caterina, in the three-quarter length pose that was adopted in the late fifteenth century to emphasise the direction of the sitter’s gaze.¹²⁶ These images of Caterina are valuable as vital sources for Caterina’s period of exile. She is presented as Boustronios described her in his chronicle that is to say as a soberly-dressed widow-queen. The representations of queens as widows was aimed to link them with their husband after their deaths. Thus, via the marital link, dowager queens sought to underline the dynastic line in order to legitimise

¹²³ Ibid., p.742: “Et il zorno sequente che soa maestà sarà intrata in la terra, si farà un ricerchar di festa, poi una oration per domino Joanne Baptista d’Apian doctor, e compita, la comunità li farà un presente a la regina de rebus mangiativis (sic)”.

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp.741-742.

¹²⁵ Sanudo, *Diarii X* (Venice, 1883), p.750.

¹²⁶ Tinagli, *Women*, p.85.

their own authority.¹²⁷ We can see this in the example of Marie de' Medici, who was depicted with the iconography of widowhood after the murder of Henry IV.¹²⁸ Likewise, Christine of Lorraine emphasised her widowed status.¹²⁹

These contemporary paintings of Caterina follow the mainstream style of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century for women in portraiture. They are three quarter view portraits, without eye contact¹³⁰ and with "distant and alien representations".¹³¹ The artists, year of creation and the background information of the creation of both remain unknown. The first example of this work of a Venetian artist in late fifteenth / early sixteenth century three-quarter pose portrait has above the sitter an inscription, "Caterina Cornara Reg. d. Cip" (Fig.5). It is suggested that it was based on a lost portrait created by Titian (c.1490-1576).¹³² However, as Titian (1488/90-1576) was born in the late fifteenth century, he was too young to be the artist behind the lost portrait if that had been made in the late fifteenth century, but he could be the source for an early sixteenth-century painting. According to the Italian writer and painter Carlo Ridolfi (1594-1658) in his 1648 work, *Le maraviglie dell' Arte ovvero, Le vite degli Illustri Pittori Veneti and dello Stato*, the portrait shows Caterina "in a mourning dress that emphasises in the black clothes the whiteness of the skin".¹³³ The serious, non-smiling three-quarter length queen was represented in mourning, with a veil above the head and pearl jewels. The sitter wears an accentuated crown and the painting was probably extracted from a larger work where the hands of the queen were included. The portrait was similar to another contemporary painting of the queen currently located in a private collection in Treviso (Fig.6). It was painted in late fifteenth century; by tradition, it was a 1500 present for a wedding celebration (although the wedding took place in 1498)

¹²⁷ Annette Dixon, "Women Who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons 1500-1650. A Thematic Overview" in Annette Dixon, ed., *Women who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art* (London, 2002), 121-122.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 122.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 130.

¹³⁰ Tinagli, *Women*, 47.

¹³¹ Ibid., 84.

¹³² Candida Syndikus, "Tra autenticità storica e invenzione romantica. L'immagine di Caterina Cornaro nella tradizione artistica e storico-artistica dell'Ottocento e Novecento" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 36.

¹³³ Ibid., 36; Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte, ovvero Le Vite degli Illustri Pittori Veneti, e dello Stato*, Vol.I (Venice, 1648), p.198: "La Regina Caterina Cornara in habito vedovile campeggiando tra quelle nere spoglie il candore delle carni, dalla quale si sono tratte l'infinita copie".

from the queen to a lady of her court, Fiammetta Buccali, who had been in service for a number of years and who had followed Caterina from Cyprus to Venice and then Asolo.¹³⁴ As the text to the right of the painting states, “Catherina Cornelia de Lusignano · Hyerusalem Cypri et Armeniae Regina · Quae · Flamettam Buchari Cipriam · Puellam suam Nobilem · Rambaldo Actionio Advocato · Nuptam datam An. Sal. MD · Picta Deiparae Imagine · Antoneli Messanensis rarissima in tab.^{ula} · Donavit”.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, there is no further information as to why Caterina gave a portrait of herself as a wedding present, though the fact that this portrait was given by Caterina suggests that it was a representation of which she had approved; we might even propose that it can be taken as something approaching an official public iconographical image (and one that matches Boustronios’ narrative).

The next two paintings are by Gentile Bellini (1429-1507),¹³⁶ both painted around 1500, during Caterina’s lifetime, when she was in Asolo.¹³⁷ One depicted her alone, known as the “Budapest portrait” (Fig.7), while the other, the “Miracle of the Cross at the Bridge of San Lorenzo”, showed her in a group (Fig.8).¹³⁸ The Budapest portrait represented her as an exile; on the top left of the painting a Latin inscription says: “[C]ornelia genus, nomen fero virginis quam Syna sepelit, Venetus filiam me vocat Senatusq[ue]. Cyprusq[ue] servit novem regnor(um) sedes. Quanta sim vides, sed Bellini manus maior, quae me tam brevi expressit tabella”.¹³⁹ The portrait has a high level of detail, capturing the intricacies of Caterina’s clothing and facial wrinkles. Caterina is represented as elegant and quite-plump, in half-figure with a veil interwoven with jewels. Her garment contains pearls and red gem stones in the seams with a line of pearls present along the neckline. This is complimented with a single pendant

¹³⁴ Syndikus, “L’immagine di Caterina”, 35n; Pompeo Molmenti, “Arte Retrospettiva: Un Ritratto della Regina Caterina Cornaro” in *Emporium. Rivista Mensile Illustrata d’Arte, Letteratura, Scienze e Varietà*, Vol.22, n.128 (1905), 119-121.

¹³⁵ Molmenti, “Arte”, 121.

¹³⁶ Caroline Campbell and Alan Chony, *Bellini and the East* (London, 2005), p.6; Pierre Dantraique, *La Peinture Venitienne* (Lausanne, 1989), p.24.

¹³⁷ Mullaly, “Domina of Asolo”, 160; Katherine Ward-Jones, “Caterina Cornaro and her Time: Men of Letters, Artists” in Teresa Marson, Luciana Piovesan, eds., *Il Barco di Altivole: Contributi per la Conoscenza* (Treviso, 2000), 99.

¹³⁸ Giandomenico Romanelli, “Caterina and the Arts” in Marina Vryonidou and Loukia Hadjigaviel, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: the last Queen of Cyprus 1473-1489* (Nicosia, 1995), 46-47.

¹³⁹ Hill, *History of Cyprus III*, pp.761-762; Rosella Lauber, “Nuovi contributi per i dipinti del ‘Camerino Cornaro’. Gioielli di famiglia, nel nome della gens Cornelia” in Daria Perocco, ed., *Caterina Cornaro. L’illusione del regno* (Asolo, 2011), 73.

necklace. In addition, the pearl encrusted crown reminds the viewers of the royal connection, though there is no devotional imagery like a cross.



Fig. 5 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (late fifteenth-early sixteenth century), Civil Museum, Asolo.



Fig. 6 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (late fifteenth-early sixteenth century), Private Collection of Avogadro degli Azzoni, Treviso.



Fig. 7 Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (c.1500), Museum of Fines Arts, Budapest.



Fig. 8 Gentile Bellini, *Miracle of the Cross at the Bridge of San Lorenzo* (c.1500), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

It was customary for princes to be depicted involved in public ceremonies.¹⁴⁰ Caterina was no exception, as she was depicted in the “Miracle of the Cross at the Bridge of San Lorenzo”, a commission for the Scuola Grande di Santo Giovanni Evangelista.¹⁴¹ The Scuola paid numerous painters, including Bellini, to create pieces of art with miracle scenes, probably for their principal meeting room.¹⁴² As it was not a portrait of the queen as such, but a more general composition, some context should be given first. In 1370, during festive processions in Venice, the confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista, carried around the city the fragment of the True Cross they owned. However, the Cross accidentally fell in the canal close to the church of San Lorenzo. As it did not sink this was considered a miracle. Meanwhile, many of the friars tried to catch the relic, but it was left to Andrea Vendramin, the leader of the brotherhood (Guardian Grande) to rescue it.¹⁴³

Bellini, inspired by this miracle, painted an unrealistic depiction, as he included people of the fourteenth century and also people of his time. Andrea Vendramin is depicted in the water holding the cross,¹⁴⁴ while other people were in the water too. Right of the platform there are various men wearing togas sitting on their knees. The gentlemen are dressed in black gowns, while the senators used to wear red gowns and the procurators were dressed in red robes and velvet stoles. Blue was the colour of the College of Fifteen, and finally the rest of the patricians and *cittadini* were dressed in long-black-gowns of black colour.¹⁴⁵ It is believed that the fourth figure from the left was Gentile Bellini himself, probably surrounded by members of the Bellini family, the Cornaro family or the Vendramin family (though Gentile might also be surrounded by the four officers of the “Banca” of the year 1500).¹⁴⁶ The bridge

¹⁴⁰ Johannesson, “portrait”, 27.

¹⁴¹ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (London, 1997), pp.120-121.

¹⁴² Ward-Jones, “Caterina”, 99-100.

¹⁴³ Kiril Petkov, *The Anxieties of a Citizen Class: The Miracles of the True Cross of San Giovanni Evangelista, Venice 1370-1480* (Leiden, 2014), p.27.

¹⁴⁴ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (London, 1988), p.150.

¹⁴⁵ Paul Hills, *Venetian Colour: Marble, Mosaic, Painting and Glass 1250-1550* (London, 1999), pp.173-174.

¹⁴⁶ Fortini Brown, *Painting*, pp.150-151.

of San Lorenzo depicted in the painting was full of people.¹⁴⁷ Left of the platform was the crowned Caterina Cornaro on her knees. This is the only surviving painting that shows Caterina conveying piety, as there is no other Christian depiction of her in an act of devotion. Like the Budapest painting, Caterina was wearing the very same dress, suggesting that both the paintings were created at about the same time.¹⁴⁸ Next to Caterina her maid of honour was identified, while behind them, in the left corner at the bottom of the painting, were various other women on their knees.¹⁴⁹ The figure behind Caterina is believed to be Pietro Bembo.¹⁵⁰

Moving on from the visual representations of Caterina, it is time to focus on the relevant poetry, where Caterina was presented according to a different set of images. In 1494, an anonymous poet wrote a panegyric for her, the “Exordio al somnio in laude dela serenissima Madonna Caterina Cornelia di Cy’ Meridissima Regina”. The author is uncertain, though Comacchio wrote that the poet had never visited Asolo and that was why he created a mistaken poetic figure of Asolo.¹⁵¹ This poem was related to Caterina Cornaro’s return to Venice.¹⁵² The poem began with a small introduction, which, as the author wrote, is a prayer to the greatness of the soul of Caterina, providing an idealised image of the queen:

Human will is where we will place the dear Serenissima Madama [...]. Yet, I am certain that in more than a thousand ways, already months and years, it is the premier generosity of an imperial soul. [...] And so, I am thinking solitarily in which way I could show your highness a small sign of my obedient will. [...], about the greatness of your soul, [...] your generous soul and ingenious nobility and bodily excellence [...]. This poem is my servitude to your majesty in some grace.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.150-151.

¹⁴⁸ Mullaly, “Domina of Asolo”, 160-161.

¹⁴⁹ Fortini Brown, *Painting*, p.150.

¹⁵⁰ Carol Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal* (London, 2004), pp.99-100.

¹⁵¹ Luigi Comacchio, *Storia di Asolo*, Vol. 17: *La Regina Cornaro*, (Asolo, 1981), p.19.

¹⁵² Perocco, “Introduzione”, 50.

¹⁵³ BUB An, 1r-3v: “Humana Volunta ove poniamo essere fondato lo amoroso habito Serenissima Madama: [...] ma ben so certo che in piu de mille modi gia mesi e anni la extrenne generosita del cesareo animo. [...] Et cosi fra me solitario pensando in che modo qualche exiguo segno dela obedientissima mia Volunta ad V. Serenita mostrar potessi. [...] la grandezza del animo suo [...] del generoso animo vostro e la ingennie nobilita et le zadia del corpo. [...] esso libretto e la mia servitu essere ad vostra maesta in qualche gratia[...]”.

Caterina was, in effect, being mythologised in her lifetime. Also, the introduction provided aspects of the contemporary image of Caterina as a queen in exile. That she was styled “Serenissima madama”, “Vostra maestà”, and “Vostra Serenità”, suggests that she never lost her sovereign status. The poem included a section dedicated to Caterina’s beauty and her character, as the anonymous poet presents her as a perfect looking and charismatic person, and a virtuous woman. As he wrote:

With elegant body, with a great soul [...]
Divine virtues, unusual and new [...]
Shyness in her beautiful face and honesty [...]
Unique loveliness, honest appearance [...]
Loving, benign and gracious
Lonely, awakened, obedient
Not vain, proud, daring and disdainful.
With a beautiful stature and such purity [...].¹⁵⁴

Another part of the poem mentioned Caterina’s departure from Cyprus, a difficult time for her subjects, who loved their queen:

When she was going to depart to return [in Venice]
With her small and faithful court
The entire kingdom was surrounding them.
How many tears and sobs or what a cry
Her barons and everyone made
On the departure of their queen and guide.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 25v-26r; Loredana, pseud., (Anna Loredana Zacchia Rondinini), *Caterina Cornaro, Patrizia Veneta, Regina di Cipro. Con XXIII illustrazioni* (Rome, 1938), 212-213; Lodovico Frati, “Un Poemetto in lode di Caterina Corner”, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, Vol. XIX, Part II (1900), 370-372:

“Nel corpo leggiandria, nel’ alma tanta [...]
Virtù divine, inusitate et nove [...]
Vergogna nel bel Volto et onestade [...]
unica venustà, abito onesto, [...]
AmoreVol, benigna e graziosa,
solitaria, svegliata, obediante
non vana, altera, ardita e disdegnosa.
Costei bella statura e tal bianchezza [...]”.

¹⁵⁵ BUB An, 33v-34r:

“Quando Volse partir per far ritorno
con la sua Corte de corata et fida
tutto el reame suo li fu dintorno.
Quanti pianti et singulti o quale strida
facieno e suoi baroni qui e cialchuno
nel partir de la lor Regina et guida”.

Caterina was presented as a solitary woman radiating shyness in her beautiful face. She was honoured as no one else was in her time and she was loved by her people. Whether the poem's anonymous author visited Asolo and met Caterina or not, it is a valuable source presenting a contemporary idealised image of Caterina, an image that we have not seen in chronicles, histories and portraiture.

There is one more contemporary poem about the queen, written by Giovanni Battista (Giambatista) Liliani, a priest, poet, jurist¹⁵⁶, a man of letters, author of both Latin poems and prose.¹⁵⁷ He was born around 1490¹⁵⁸ in San Daniele¹⁵⁹ and died on 24 July 1550 in Gorizia, a city in north-eastern Italy.¹⁶⁰ Visiting the family of the Colbertaldi in Asolo when he was just twenty,¹⁶¹ Liliani wrote a Latin poem about Asolo and Caterina. The poem, "De situ et laudibus Asyli oppidi serenissimae reginae Corneliae",¹⁶² was published in Venice three years before Caterina's death.¹⁶³ It affords one of the earliest descriptions of Asolo, glorifying Asolo and its leading individuals and families, including Caterina.¹⁶⁴ As in the two previous poems analysed here, Liliani used his imagination in describing an ideal image of the queen.

Carpathos, which is surrounded by the sea to the Cornelian Cyprus
Now Caterina is dominating power with her vigorous sceptre.¹⁶⁵

Carpathos (or Karpathos), an island in the Aegean Sea, gave its name to the Carpathian Sea (Carpathium mare). Although the Carpathian Sea is not around Cyprus, it is indirectly connected to the extended Cornaro family, as Carpathos was under Cornaro family control from 1306 until 1540, when the island fell to

¹⁵⁶ Mullaly, "Domina of Asolo", 173.

¹⁵⁷ Luigi Comacchio, *Splendore di Asolo ai tempi della regina Cornaro* (Treviso, 1969), p.14.

¹⁵⁸ Comacchio, *Regina*, p.94.

¹⁵⁹ Comacchio, *Splendore*, p.9.

¹⁶⁰ Comacchio, *Regina*, p.100.

¹⁶¹ Mullaly, "Domina of Asolo", 173.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁶⁴ Perocco, "Introduzione", 49-50.

¹⁶⁵ Comacchio, *Splendore*, 88-95:

"Carpathio quae cincta freto est cornelia Cyprum
Jam Catherina virens scaepetro dominata potenti.

the Turks.¹⁶⁶ The main importance for us here is that the exiled Caterina is presented holding her sceptre and ruling Asolo skilfully, and not as a powerless queen in exile.

Moving on, Pietro Lazzaroni was a poet active in the second half of the fifteenth century, though it is not certain where he was born (he was possibly from Milan, Brescia or the Valtelline).¹⁶⁷ There are various surviving works of his, both printed and in manuscripts, such as “Carmen in laudem Ludovici Marie Sfortiae, et Beatricis Estensis coniugis” and a poem dedicated to Carlo I of Savoy.¹⁶⁸ Amongst the poems was one dedicated to Caterina, “De duodecim eximiis virtutibus, quibus coronatur consumata regina et quibus fulgere concernimus coronam serenissimae Katerinae Cypri reginae dignissimae”, which was only in manuscript form until it was printed in 1904. It was probably written in 1497, when Caterina travelled to Brescia to visit her brother Giorgio, and likens her to two mythological goddesses.¹⁶⁹

Oh powerful queen [...]
By sea and land [...]
You opened your wings: your reputation for probity was the greatest. [...]
Primate, she illuminates the role of wisdom,
the other lights that present great virtuous,
Pallas [Minerva] raised her up in the highest way,
Genious enriched with the new fountain of Minerva. [...]
Almighty she was established in heaven and earth [...]
She has been given a place between the highest ruling affairs. [...]
A gift of justice, which encompasses the whole earth,
Take the sacred mind: abolished and high blessed
servant of Astrea [...]
An androgynous it is said to be a benefit for a warrior queen [...].
Now it is said by people that you hold royal scepters [...]
As you become more powerful
With your sceptre you will see the lower world. [...]
Therefore, the illustrious crown with the twelve gems
With which your magnificence, Caterina, captivates love. [...]¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ R. M. Dawkins, “Notes from Karpathos”, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 9 (1902-1903), 178-179.

¹⁶⁷ Comacchio, *Regina*, p.241.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.242-249.

¹⁶⁹ Perocco, “Introduzione”, 46-47.

¹⁷⁰ Comacchio, *Regina*, pp.256-267:

“O Regina potens [...]

Per mare per terras [...]

As the poem stated, Caterina embarked from Venice and became a capable, wise, strong and fair queen in Cyprus. At the same time, she was presented as an illustrious queen of the highest fame, holding a royal sceptre, wearing an honoured crown. Interestingly, Lazzaroni characterised Caterina as a warrior and an androgynous (in greek Mythology the androgynous women - like amazons - were fearful, powerful and independent, not subjects of men¹⁷¹); this suggests a side of Caterina that we have seen neither in the histories nor the poems that have already been mentioned. It is the first time she is mentioned in masculine terms as a warrior, though this has to be seen in terms of some literary licence since Caterina never faced a war while she was a ruler, merely some local revolts against her that were successfully suppressed by Venice. Of course, as it is a hymn to the queen, there was no mention of the fact that Caterina was controlled, or at least helped, by the republic to preserve her throne. The poem was not inspired by the facts of the queen's life and reign, but rather by her royal image.

Other parts of the poem include references to two important female figures from Greek and Roman mythology who bestow divine presents on Caterina. The fact that two ancient queens appeared in a poem dedicated to Caterina was not something unique, as during the Renaissance ancient figures reappeared in poetry and art. The first figure mentioned is the Roman Goddess

Salve: fama tuae probitatis maxima fecit [...]
 Primas lustrat sapientia partes
 Caetera lumen habent virtutum munera magnum
 Palladis auxilio consurgunt maxima queque
 Ingenio ditata novo de fonte minerve. [...]
 Omnipotens caelos stabilivit et infima terrae [...]
 Stant sortita locum: dominatrix rebus in altis [...]
 Munera iustitiae, quae totum continet orbem
 Mente sacra tollis: tolluntur et alta beate
 Astreae officia. [...]
 Andraginem dicant merito regina virago [...]
 Ore ferunt homines regalia sceptrum tenenti [...]
 quanto tu maior facta potenti
 Sceptro tu tanto submissior orbe videris [...]
 Bissenis igitur gemmis lustrata corona
 Haec tua magnipotens Katerina conflata amore [...]"

¹⁷¹ Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, Vol. I (Oxford, 2008), pp.108-111.

Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and war and daughter of Jupiter.¹⁷² In the poem, she helps Caterina with wisdom and virtue to enable her to rule. The second mythological figure mentioned in the poem is Astraea, the virgin goddess of justice, the last of the immortals that lived with humans on Earth in the so-called Golden Age. According to her mythology, she managed with her magical power to bring peace to every part of the earth and happiness was placed in the heart of every human.¹⁷³ In the Renaissance, Astraea reappeared frequently in poetry, for example as a symbol of the reign of Elizabeth I, queen of England.¹⁷⁴ Here, in the poem dedicated to Caterina, the queen of Cyprus was presented as a servant of Astraea, as a queen who received by her the gift of justice. So, it is an honour for Caterina to be called Astraea's servant. These two mythological figures signify her wisdom, justice and honour, precious characteristics for the ideal rulers. In general, the image of the queen in the poem had nothing to do with Caterina's image as queen in exile; in fact, it was idealised, just like in the poem of the anonymous poet we have seen earlier, using ancient goddesses to mythologise Caterina and allowing her to transcend her status as a queen in exile without tangible political power.

All these contemporary sources presented in this part of the chapter, showed Caterina as a queen in exile, not as a former queen. Bembo explained how Caterina was officially welcomed as a queen after her return to Venice and how her life continued to be luxurious. Also, according to Sanudo, Caterina was formally received as a queen in Brescia, while also she was buried as a queen. The fact that she never lost her sovereign status was iconographically suggested in all the surviving portraits of her, where, as we have seen, she always wore her crown. As for the poems, they show an idealised image of Caterina, an image that surpassed reality glorifying the idealised physical appearance of Caterina, her inner virtuosity of the queen, her power and authority, characteristics that were not always based on the real appearance, character and life of the queen.

¹⁷² Ιωάννης Θ. Κακρίδης, «Η Αθηνά: Γενικά» in Ιωάννης Θ. Κακρίδης, ed., *Ελληνική Μυθολογία*, Vol. II (Athens, 1986), pp.98-100.

¹⁷³ Tymviou, *allegotical pieces*, 28.

¹⁷⁴ Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1999), p.59.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the images and iconographies of Charlotte and Caterina during their lifetimes, to understand their relative statuses, the ways they were seen by the others, and their social and political roles. We have seen in the case of Charlotte, that there were relatively few sources from Cyprus and Rome. Perhaps predictably, her iconography varied according to the political stances of respective commentators. Thus, on one side, Boustronios presented her as a sinner, a person with bad fortune, a queen who made one mistake after the other, and as having no right to claim she was the ruler of the island after the sultan of the Egypt, feudal overlord of the island, chose her brother Jacques II to be the king of Cyprus. In short, Charlotte was presented as a person incapable of ruling, and of lacking the legitimacy to do so. Of course, Boustronios, as an ally of Jacques, had no reason to present her in a positive light.

By contrast, Pope Pius showed a far different image of Charlotte; she was presented as the only legitimate ruler of Cyprus who governed legally with Louis, but she was unlucky, and paid for the sins of her family (her Orthodox mother and the dukes of Savoy). Also, because the sultan of Egypt had preferred to support Jacques and because other regional rulers did not want her husband to rule the island as he was French. According to Pius, Charlotte has done nothing wrong; she lost her kingdom for various circumstances that had nothing to do with her as a person. Besides, the pope had only good things to say about her when she visited him in Rome, having a dignified personality and being a convincing speaker. However, again it should be noted that Pius did not write an objective history, but a commentary, so again he could provide the side of the story that he wanted to, accusing Savoy of not helping the queen enough. Of course, it was a significant “voice” from the fifteenth century, who helped us to understand that Charlotte tried her best to return, she was a queen in exile that found support from various cities and she was not as immature as she is presented by Boustronios.

For her part, Charlotte's iconography demonstrated that apart from Pope Pius II, another pope recognised her as queen in exile, Pope Sixtus IV, who explored another facet of her identity as a good and virtuous Christian. Her devotional identity presented in the two Roman frescoes clearly suggests that in papal circles Charlotte remained a queen. Besides, that was the reason why she is depicted in those two frescoes placed in two main buildings of the Vatican that would have been visible to the court and visitors to the court. Collectively, these three images showed different sides of the same person, giving us ideas of how the side of her and how the side of Jacques II saw her departure from Cyprus. Also, how her image in Cyprus differed from the one that is presented in the painting of the Church in Rome.

Caterina, by contrast was presented by the Cypriot chronicler Boustronios as the legitimate ruler of the island approved by the sultan of Egypt, along with all the liegemen and Venice. The fact that was supported and not controlled by Venice was also suggested by the Venetian contemporary sources, Malipiero's chronicle and the histories of Sabellico and Bembo, who of course presented the "official" version of the republic, that Caterina was fully supported by her motherland. The fact that Caterina was controlled by the Venetian authorities was generally absent from those fifteenth and early sixteenth century sources, written at a time when the authors intended only to emphasise the aspects of a story that they wanted.

As for Caterina's life in exile, she is presented in an entirely positive light by the Venetian sources. According to Bembo, she was officially welcomed on her return to Venice, and she had a comfortable life in Asolo, with a good pension. Also, according to the unofficial source of Sabellico, Caterina was formally received in Brescia, proving that, although she was not directly involved in Cyprus any more, she never lost her sovereign status while she was exiled. This remaining sovereign image is also supported by the poems glorifying and presenting an idealised image of her and also by the fact that her visual iconography shows her as a crowned queen. This clearly demonstrates that the public image of the exiled queen was that she enjoyed high status. Of course, in spite of the fact that all these sources provide the public image of Caterina as a

queen in exile, she nevertheless had a much reduced level of power and resources.

Chapter 6

Literary and visual iconographies from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century

Chapter 5 examined the images of Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro through sources - written and visual - produced during their lifetimes. Chapter 6 considers their posthumous images, and is divided in two parts. This division of the chapter provides a parallel examination of the way the two queens were presented in two different places, Cyprus and the Italian Peninsula, thereby reflecting the differences in the written sources and also the different political and social circumstances. The first part of the chapter examines written sources from Cyprus from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, there are only three written sources that address Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro. These are the fifteenth-century-sources of Florio Bustron and Stefano Lusignano, and the eighteenth-century-source of Kyprianos. The importance here is to see how the two queens are presented, principally as residents of Cyprus, and what aspects of their personalities and queenship are highlighted. Secondly, there are visual and written sources, from their deaths until the nineteenth century and the Italian Unification, mainly from the Italian Peninsula that examine the iconographies of the two queens. Their significance lies in the insights they provide into how the two queens were viewed after their exiles. The posthumous written and visual sources about the two queens, especially Caterina, could reflect interest, concern, pride and even nostalgia. These potential sentiments will be explored in this chapter through the presentation

and analysis of the posthumous iconography and written sources dedicated to Caterina and Charlotte.

The second part of the chapter covers a long period of time, from the deaths of the queens until the nineteenth century and the Italian Unification. Since they cover a long period of time, each century is presented independently. This provides insights into the changes and evolution of the images of the two queens across the period in the Italian Peninsula, in changing social and political contexts. Also, the parallel discussion of the two queens affords a more nuanced counterpoint, comparing both their similarities and differences. Furthermore, the juxtaposition allows a better understanding of how the variable relations between Savoy and Venice themselves shaped the written and visual sources. It should be underlined that Part III of this thesis does not focus on the same questions as Part II. The official diplomatic documents from Savoy and Venice over their “battle” for Cyprus’s royal title were presented and analysed along with explanation of how the two queens were indirectly presented across the centuries in those sources. On the contrary, in Part III, the two queens are the central theme with explanations of how they are presented in written and visual works.

The written sources used in this chapter are greater in number than those used in Chapter 5. Information used is from chronicles, official histories of Venice, poems, biographies, literature sources and operas dedicated mainly to Caterina Cornaro. The various written sources dedicated to Caterina are themselves significant, as they help generate a more holistic view of the queen’s profile after her death. However, there is only one source dedicated specifically to Charlotte of Lusignan, a source in manuscript form written in 1621 by Giacomo Grimaldo.

Portraits, as explained in Chapter 5, are valuable for understanding the constructed images of the sitters as “a portrait simply places a dead or otherwise absent person, making him or her “present” to a certain audience by

a visual experience”.¹ It is also helpful to know who commissioned the paintings under discussion, whether those patrons were connected in any way to Caterina and under what circumstances the pieces of art were created. Unfortunately though, for the majority of cases, information on who commissioned the paintings and where they were originally displayed has not survived. Therefore, with these caveats in mind, the discussion focuses on the subject and interpretation of the paintings.

In spite of these difficulties, Chapter 6 presents each surviving illustration of the two queens as portraiture fits into history, reflecting the time of creation and helping us understand better the society and the memory of the two queens in each particular time of history. But, there are only two images of Charlotte, while there are numerous depicting Caterina. As will be seen, the paintings of Caterina emphasise her public and political relationship with Venice, though some are more intimate representations less connected to the glory of Venice, representations where Caterina is less idealised. Presenting all the paintings dedicated to Caterina, we can analyse how these representations can be connected to the historical and political facts of the times they were created. Also, we can place them in categories according to their subjects, something that helps us understand how she was remembered generally, what were the repeated and stable subjects of her portraiture, how her profile changed through the centuries and how close this was to the original one.

Part A: **Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro: the Cypriot sources**

Chapter 5 analysed the images of the two queens in the two contemporary Cypriot chronicles, those of Machairas and Boustronios. This part of Chapter 6 examines three chronicles written by Cypriots after the deaths of the two

¹ Kurt Johannesson, “The portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre” in Allan Ellenius, ed., *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), 27.

queens: those of Florio Bustron and Stefano Lusignano, written during the sixteenth century, and the eighteenth century Kyprianos. But, it has to be underlined from the beginning that all three writers examined in this section focus principally on the periods when the queens were resident in Cyprus as Boustronios had done. Information, and interpretative detail about their lives in exile is scarce, though these textual sources are fundamental for the insight they provide into how the queens were viewed posthumously by Cypriots, whose kingdom the queens had ruled in the fifteenth century.

Before analysing these sources, additional details about the lives of those authors need to be considered. The first chronicler, Florio Bustron, came from the same family as George Boustronios. Author of the “*Historia overo commentarii de Cipro*”, he was a jurist, historian and a humanist.² Biographical information about him, though, is limited. It is certain that he was alive by 1516,³ and probably died in 1570, when the Ottomans attacked Nicosia.⁴ His work was written during the 1550s⁵ though not published until 1886, by the French historian, René de Mas-Latrie.⁶ Florio worked in various administrative positions in Venetian Cyprus;⁷ allowing him access to the local archives.⁸ Also, he was the secretary of the three-member-committee that was ordered to codify the laws of Cyprus from French to Italian.⁹ It is accepted that he was “generally favourable to Venice”,¹⁰ although his work was presumably not sponsored by the republic.

Stefano Lusignano (Estienne de Lusignan) as the second writer presented here, was a descendant of the old Lusignan kings of the island, and

² Χάρης Πάτσης, ed., *Μεγάλη Εγκυκλοπαίδεια της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Από τον 10^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. μέχρι σήμερα)*, Vol. IV (Athens, 1968-1972), p.309.

³ Gilles Grivaud, “Ordine della Secreta di Cipro. Florio Bustron et les institutions franco'byzantines afférentes au régime agraire de Chypre à l'époque vénitienne” in *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, Vol. II (Nicosia, 1992), 536-537.

⁴ Ibid., 540; Αντρος Παυλίδης, *Ιστορία ή μάλλον σχόλια του Φλώριου Βουστρώνιου για την Κύπρο: Πλήρης Μετάφραση από το ιταλικό πρωτότυπο μαζί με σημειώσεις και σχόλια* (Nicosia, 1998), n'.

⁵ Ibid., I'; Gilles Grivaud, “Florio Bustron, Storico del Rinascimento Cipriota” in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλλος, ed., *Florio Bustron: Historia overo Commentarii de Cipro, Introduzione di Gilles Grivaud* (Nicosia, 1998), viii.

⁶ Grivaud, “Ordine”, 533.

⁷ Grivaud, “Florio Bustron”, ix; Παυλίδης, *Ιστορία ή σχόλια Φλώριου*, στ', θ'.

⁸ Benjamin Arbel, “The Reign of Caterina Corner (1473-1489) as a Family Affair”, *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. XXVI (1993), 69.

⁹ Πάτσης, *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, Vol. IV, p.309.

¹⁰ Arbel, “Reign of Caterina”, 69.

was born in Cyprus between 1527 and 1528, and died in Rome in 1590.¹¹ He was an historian and a Catholic monk¹² and in 1564 he took the position of vicar of the bishop of Limassol, until 1568. Then, he left for Italy in May 1570 with aim of achieving a higher position in Cyprus from the Venetian authorities. However, this trip coincided with the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus and he was never to return.¹³ Stefano published two books while he was in Bologna, Naples, Padua and Paris.¹⁴ It is not known where he had access to sources based in Italy, but since he taught at Padua University, he probably used sources from there.¹⁵ However, he wrote as a descendant of the royal Lusignan family¹⁶ and, unlike Boustron, he overtly backed the Venetian administration on the island.¹⁷ The first book, “Chorograffia et breve historia universale dell’ isola di Cipro principiando al tempo di Noe per in sino al 1572”, was begun in Naples in 1570, and finished in Bologna between 1572 and 1573, where it was published.¹⁸ Being in Italy at the time, his principal aim was to find money to liberate Cypriot nobles from the Ottomans, but at the same time to generate more support for the island of Cyprus that was under the Ottoman control.¹⁹ The second source by Lusignano was written in French, reflecting the fact that he lived in Paris from 1578 until the end of his life.²⁰ The “Description de toute l’isle de Cypre, et des roys, princes et seigneurs, tant Payens que Chrestiens, qui ont commandé en icelle: contenant l’entière histoire de tout ce qui s’y est passé depuis le deluge universel, l’an 142 & du monde, 1798 jusques en l’an de l’incarnation & nativité de Jesus-Christ, mil cinq cens soixante & douze” was published posthumously (as with his other work), in Paris in 1580.²¹ Although it is a French translation of

¹¹ Gilles Grivaud, “Introduction” in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Estienne de Lusignan: Description de toute l’isle de Cypre* (Nicosia, 2004), iv-v; Gilles Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός” in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Estienne de Lusignan: Chorograffia* (Nicosia, 2004), 3.

¹² Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, “Προλογικόν σημείωμα” in Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλος, ed., *Estienne de Lusignan: Chorograffia* (Nicosia, 2004), 1.

¹³ Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός”, 3-4.

¹⁴ Grivaud, “Introduction”, iii.

¹⁵ Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός”, 4.

¹⁶ Grivaud, “Introduction”, iii.

¹⁷ Ibid., xii; Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός”, 12.

¹⁸ Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός”, 4.

¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

²⁰ Ibid., 4-5.

²¹ Grivaud, “Introduction”, 1.

“Chorografia”, Stefano added extra information, as in the five years between the two sources, he found out more relevant information.²²

Kyprianos, the last author used here as a Cypriot source, was a clergyman and man of the letters,²³ who was born in Cyprus c.1730 and died c.1800.²⁴ In 1760 he moved to Venice as an archimandrite and he also studied at Padua.²⁵ While he was an archimandrite, he published his own work, “Ιστορία Χρονολογική της νήσου Κύπρου” (Chronological History of Cyprus), in Venice in 1788²⁶, writing to the archbishop of Cyprus, Chrysanthos (r. 1767-1810) to accept his historical account dedicated to the island that faced various difficult times.²⁷ It was published a year before the start of the French Revolution, when the issue of “national” freedom was a live one.²⁸ Therefore, one of the aims of this work was to tap into Cypriot nationalist sentiments generated by the revolutionary fervour from France and make the Cypriots express a desire for freedom.

In terms of Charlotte’s image in these three sources, none of the authors departs from the fifteenth-century-text of Boustronios. To start with, they provide detailed accounts of her, and a common image emerges of a queen as both unfortunate and deserving of her ill fortune as Boustronios had argued. In these narratives, her misfortune had been brought to the fore by the omen of her crown falling from her head at her coronation, a story repeated in all three sources.²⁹ Bustron and Lusignano also claim that Charlotte was a sinner: she had married her cousin, Louis, and had a wedding that even his own mother did not want for him.³⁰ Moreover, all three authors argue that she lacked the power

²² Grivaud, “Στέφανος Λουζινιανός”, 6, 9.

²³ Χάρης Πάτσης, ed., *Μεγάλη Εγκυκλοπαίδεια της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (Από τον 10^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. μέχρι σήμερα)*, Vol IX (Athens, 1968-1972), p.205; Στέφανος Αλ. Πατάκης, ed., *Λεξικό Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας: Πρόσωπα, έργα, ρεύματα, ορπη* (Athens, 2007), p.1181.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1181.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.1181.

²⁶ Grivaud, “Florio Bustron”, xi; Νικόλαος Καταλανός and Περικλής Μιχαηλίδης, eds., *Αρχιμανδρίτου Κυπριανού: Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2001), pp.ιβ-ιγ.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.ζ-η.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.δ.

²⁹ Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l’île de Chypre. Edited by René de Mas-Latrie* (Milton Keynes, 2011), p.387; Estienne de Lusignan, *Chorographia. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλλος* (Nicosia, 2004), 156, 347; Αρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Χρονολογική της Νήσου Κύπρου* (Nicosia, 2001), 327.

³⁰ Bustron, *Chronique*, pp.379-380; Lusignan, *Chorographia*, 153.

to go against the will of the feudal overlords, the sultan of Egypt who had chosen to support her illegitimate brother Jacques II.³¹

What is more, all three authors emphasise her incapacity to rule. In his account, for example, Bustron played on the issue of gender, underlining the fact that Charlotte did not have a male heir, while Jacques was a “natural son of the king”.³² It should be added that he also criticised Caterina in gendered terms as it will be explained later. Moreover, all three sources - Bustron, Lusignano and Kyprianos - present Charlotte as incapable of taking appropriate decisions at crucial times, contributing to the loss of her kingdom, and her responsibility, we might extrapolate, for that loss. In short, she lacked the necessary skills to be a successful ruler. When she succeeded to the kingdom, she was firstly accepted by both her stepbrother Jacques and all the nobles. However, influenced by the courtiers who sided with her against her stepbrother, she was convinced not to trust her brother any more.³³ These comments reinforce a consistent image of a person supposedly unfit to rule: Charlotte had demonstrated poor judgement and was the cause of tensions with her brother.

Kyprianos provided a further interpretation of Charlotte's weakness, referring to her marriage to Louis. No matter that the information seems incorrect (comparing it with the information from all the previous sources), the importance here is that in the eighteenth century Charlotte was presented as weaker than in the previous chronicles from Cyprus. According to Kyprianos, her father, King Jean, regretted the marriage and tried to find a way to split the married couple. Jean thought that Jacques should succeed him, because Charlotte was too modest to be able to rule well. King Jean discussed the issue with leading courtiers, and while some agreed with him, the final decision was that a bastard son was not appropriate for the throne.³⁴ Accordingly, the only reason the modest Charlotte remained in her throne was due to her legitimacy. In contrast, Jacques had various advantages that made their father prefer him.

³¹ Bustron, *Chronique*, pp.392-394; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, 158-161; Estienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre*. Edited by Θεόδωρος Παπαδόπουλλος (Nicosia, 2004), pp.352-356; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, 332.

³² Bustron, *Chronique*, 373-374.

³³ Ibid., 384-386, Lusignan, *Chorografia*, 156-157, Lusignan, *l'isle de Cypre*, pp.347-349; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.325-327.

³⁴ Ibid., p.324.

Although he was illegitimate, Jacques was handsome, clever and very modest.³⁵ Therefore, Charlotte is presented as a weak ruler in comparison to her illegitimate brother. In general, the ideal ruler in three words should be generous, brave and fair,³⁶ and unfortunately Charlotte is presented as having none of these characteristics. Furthermore, Jacques's positive physical attributes are presented in this source, which demonstrated his capacity in authority.³⁷ Jacques was powerful, clever and handsome, in contrast to Charlotte.

Bustron, Lusignano and Kyprianos provide only limited information about Charlotte after her loss of the Cypriot throne. Their intentions in writing their accounts were not to focus on the exiled years of Charlotte, but rather on those actually ruling Cyprus. Their central arguments focus around her efforts to regain control of Cyprus. Strikingly, in contrast to the image presented earlier, in which she appeared weak and incapable as an exiled queen, she is now determined to return to Cyprus. More particularly, all three writers note that after she visited Rhodes, she travelled to a series of Italian states asking for help and she travelled from time to time in Rome, where she tried to find supporters without success. When she left Cyprus, she did not give up hoping but she was waiting for a potential opportunity to retake the throne.³⁸ By contrast, Louis returned to Savoy and abandoned his attempts to retake Cyprus.³⁹ The unfortunate Charlotte, as Kyprianos continues, knowing how rogue her husband was, nevertheless continued her effort to retake her kingdom alone, in spite of her gender.⁴⁰ The contrast is evident: even though Charlotte was not a powerful male ruler like her brother, who had protection from important states including Egypt and Venice, she continued in her efforts to regain her throne. In this way, Charlotte is presented by these three authors as a woman who would transcend the limits of her gender, to return as a queen in Cyprus.

³⁵ Ibid., pp.312-313.

³⁶ Alexander M. Bruce, *Scyld and Scef: Expanding the Analogues* (New York, 2012), p.75.

³⁷ María Cristina Quintero, *Gendering the Crown in the Spanish Baroque Comedia* (New York, 2016), pp.60-61.

³⁸ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.365-367; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp.411; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, 164-165.

³⁹ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.411; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, 164-165; Lusignan, *l'isle de Cypre*, pp.366-368; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.345.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.345.

While the sources, by their nature, do not provide explicit detail about Charlotte's exile, they nevertheless clearly demonstrate Charlotte's considerable efforts to retake her throne. Perhaps most importantly, the sources implicitly assign considerable responsibility for Charlotte's failed efforts to secure Cyprus with Venice. Lusignano wrote that Charlotte thought that Jacques' death would present her with the opportunity to retake her kingdom, but the General Captain of Venice, Mocenigo, underlined in a response that Caterina was the queen. So, Charlotte travelled to Rome where the new Pope, Sixtus IV, was persuaded to muster aid on her behalf from other Christian princes (unnamed princes, but already mentioned in Chapter 1).⁴¹ Kyprianos gives more detail about that letter adding that she even sent a letter back to Mocenigo, who was by then in Lycia, complaining about the unfair capture of the kingdom and underlining the fact that she was the legitimate ruler rather than her bastard stepbrother.⁴² However, as Kyprianos added, Mocenigo firstly answered that the sultan had already decided who the ruler of the island was.⁴³ Secondly, he underlined that Louis had returned to Savoy without apparent interest in Cyprus, thereby forfeiting every potential right he could have to the kingdom.⁴⁴ Thirdly, he also mentioned that Caterina was pregnant with the future King Jacques III of Cyprus and that she was protected by Venice.⁴⁵ Additionally, Jacques had not taken the island from her, but from the Genoese who had occupied one of Cyprus's greatest centres, Famagusta. Finally, Mocenigo mentioned to Charlotte that kingdoms were not acquired by law, but by the navy and courage.⁴⁶ This is a vital statement about Venice in general, because it was a state that in that period of time had various colonies especially because of its power and navy. Mocenigo in fact had visited the queen in Famagusta himself, promising the protection of the Republic, and Caterina

⁴¹ Lusignan, *l'isle de Cypre*, 385-389.

⁴² Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.367.

⁴³ Ibid., p.367.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.368.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.368.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.367-368.

thanked him for that.⁴⁷ From the last point, it is clear that Charlotte not only had to face Caterina, but the power of Venice too.

The sources present a sorry catalogue of shortcomings; Charlotte lost her kingdom because of modesty, misfortune, superstition, sin, having the wrong husband, immaturity as a ruler and bad advisors. Accordingly, it was impossible for her to defeat her brother. However, the queen's character as a ruler in exile seems more mature, as she sought to retake her throne, by being decisive, resolute and powerful. In general, it can be said that the image presented in all these three sources is not far away from the image Boustronios had already presented; his work, written in the fifteenth century, acts like a skeleton to the narratives of those three Cypriot sources, which are also similar enough to Boustronios's chronicle that Charlotte's profile does not differ from one source to the other. On the contrary, her image was notably consistent across the entire period, in all the written sources from Cyprus.

Moving on to Caterina Cornaro, most of the information is already known from the source of Boustronios. To begin with the presentation of Caterina's image, we should first reiterate two things. First, Caterina's membership of the Cornaro family, one of Venice's most prominent clans, and secondly her adoption by Venice, named as we have seen as a daughter of the republic.⁴⁸ It was such a great event that when she was engaged by proxy in Venice, symposiums and dances with musical instruments were organised. Evidently, all the sources emphasise her lineage and her adoption by the Republic. Lusignano wrote that Venice made Caterina its adopted daughter, she was the legitimate daughter of Marco Cornaro, gentleman of an important and illustrious family.⁴⁹ Bustron wrote that The Signoria of Venice, having heard that the King [of Cyprus] asked the above daughter [to be his wife], it brought her in the Palace of Saint Mark and made her daughter of San Mark.⁵⁰ Kyprianos provides more detail:

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.368-369.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.360-361; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp.432-433; Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, p.171.

⁴⁹ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.433.

⁵⁰ Lusignan, *Chorograffia*, p.171.

the Senate invited the bride in the churchyard of Saint Mark, it adopted her in the church service as daughter of Saint Mark, and it dressed her with a royal outfit [...]. Arches were placed in various places of Venice, with triumphal decoration, and illuminations at night, while the public was celebrating all over the city. Greetings of the noblemen, symposiums, dances and musical instruments presenting the joy and festivity for this glorious wedding.⁵¹

All these three sources focus on Caterina's celebratory arrival in Famagusta in 1472. According to Bustron, Caterina arrived in Cyprus with great glory and honour and great banquets. She was married and crowned at the same time as queen of Cyprus.⁵²

Lusignano wrote that, when the queen came in Cyprus in 1472, she arrived in Famagusta, [where there were organised] those banquets that are requested for a magnanimous and liberal king.⁵³ Kyprianos again wrote more fully:

The queen Caterina arrived in the port of Famagusta after a long and difficult trip. Due to the significance of [the arrival], the king gathering all the orders and the nobles, he came to welcome his wife. For her disembarkation from the boat, were placed triumphal-decorated-arches, and silk and golden-woven glamorous-triumphs in all over the street that the queen was going to walk into. And of course some of them could not deny that Aphrodite had returned to her island.⁵⁴

Kyprianos also presented another side of her character that was never highlighted; that of a queen who was desperate to have an heir with her husband:

The joys and hilarities of everyone - meaning the ruler and the subordinates, the king and the citizens - doubled when they heard that the queen was pregnant. [...] However, joy became sadness, moodiness and lament, when the death of the royal child was announced, because it lived only for five days.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, pp.360-361.

⁵² Lusignan, *Chorografia*, p.171.

⁵³ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.433

⁵⁴ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.361.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.362.

Given the controversies after the death of her husband with his two illegitimate sons, Caterina understandably wished to have a legitimate heir of her own.⁵⁶ However, this story of an heir dying after five days was not recorded in the previous sources. Kyprianos continued that Caterina became pregnant again, this time with Jacques III.⁵⁷ Although this information has some inaccuracies, as in reality Caterina was only pregnant with Jacques III, it is still a significant source, as Caterina is presented for the first time scheming with the illegitimate children of Jacques.

Moreover, in all three sources, Caterina is presented as having the advantage of being protected by the sultan of Egypt. It was thus difficult for Charlotte to find powerful supporters.⁵⁸ However, Kyprianos provides more detail of this fortunate protection that became a luxury prison for the young queen. When she became sole ruler of Cyprus, Kyprianos wrote, the republic controlled almost everything. The reason was not just to protect the adopted lady, but to control the issue of succession. That was why 100 Venetian nobles were elected to move to Cyprus with their families (sixty in Nicosia, twenty in Famagusta and twenty in Cerines) in order to bolster Venice's power there.⁵⁹ Moreover, Venetians assumed various high-ranking positions in Cyprus, while Caterina had just the ruling title, and furthermore, was prevented from marrying again and producing any heirs.⁶⁰ Caterina is presented by Kyprianos as a toy in the hands of her compatriots, doing nothing more than following their instructions. Caterina's image as a ruling queen could not be weaker, though it might also be added that Kyprianos made no mention of her gender *per se* as an issue.

This image of Caterina as young and malleable, is seen in the other sources too. While they differ over the reasons for her exile, they all agree that she was forced to leave and had no power to resist. Taking Lusignano first, he wrote that Venice sent Caterina's mother to Cyprus to convince her return to

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.362.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.363-365.

⁵⁸ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.435; Lusignan, *Chorografia*, p.173; Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.380.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.382-383.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.388.

Venice; there, she would be surrounded by her relatives and she would not lose her title of queen. Venice would assume responsibility of defending the kingdom.⁶¹ Accordingly, as Lusignano suggested, Caterina left for her own good. For his part, Bustron wrote that the republic was informed about a potential wedding between Caterina and a son of the king of Naples and it sent her brother, Giorgio, to convince his sister to leave Cyprus and give her crown to Venice and return, mainly because of the threat from the Turks.⁶² Florio tried to describe the conversation in detail, evidently using his imagination, as the dialogue between the two siblings covers five pages of his work. Florio, like Pietro Bembo, wrote that Giorgio Cornaro pointed out to his sister that if the republic had not supported her, then the Turkish fleet would already have attacked. He continued that she would not be able to remain ruler of the island without the Republic's support, not only because she was a sole female ruler, but also because she could not trust those around her.⁶³ The fact that Caterina is presented as weak because of her gender is significant. Moreover, just like Bembo, he underlined that by abdicating she had the option of a comfortable exile, with a fief in Italy (not named). Apart from these personal benefits, the Cornaro family would also obtain honours. In contrast, if Caterina were to say no, the family would have been destroyed.⁶⁴

There are also comments that suggest that Caterina could not do anything but agree to leave the island, underscoring her powerlessness. Bustron's account finished with the point that Caterina was accompanied from Cyprus by her brother Giorgio.⁶⁵ Kyprianos adds that when Giorgio arrived in Cyprus he told his sister that the time was difficult because of the wars between the sultans of Constantinople and Egypt, and that it was in her interests to leave Cyprus.⁶⁶ Caterina needed time to consider her options, but the security around her doubled with many more Venetian guards; feeling imprisoned in her own

⁶¹ Lusignan, *Chorographia*, pp.175-176.

⁶² Bustron, *Chronique*, p.454.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp.455-456.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.457.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.458.

⁶⁶ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.389.

palace, she complied.⁶⁷ Thus, Caterina is clearly presented without any option other than to abdicate. Kyprianos then mentions that the transfer of power from Caterina to her motherland and adopted mother was legitimate and that it took place with the consent of the sultan of Egypt.⁶⁸

Furthermore, Bustron's narrative suggests that Caterina retained her sovereign status while she returned to Venice:

she had near her her brother and they were in galleys travelling back to Venice, where she was received by the prince [doge] Barbarigo and the senators, who reached her until the church of San Nicolò, with an infinite multitude, indeed with all the noblemen of the city, with boats highly accompanying her in the boat called Bucentaur, surrounded by senators and noble women, while she was brought inside Venice; this did not happen to any other Venetian woman.⁶⁹

Thereafter,

soon after, the Council of Ten donated her Asolo, a castle in the hills of Treviso, giving her many thousands of ducats per year, that was enough for her to live her life fittingly, with her female retinue, having an aristocratic court [corte signorile], always able to organise banquets with songs and music, with virtuous people being present.⁷⁰

The point about her resources underlines the sense that she was, as a minimum, upholding the outward appearance of a queen, even while in exile. Kyprianos mentioned that back in Venice, Caterina was welcomed with honour and glory in the dogal palace as compensation for losing Cyprus.⁷¹ In general, the Venetian authorities rewarded her, but they took all her power as a reigning queen. Her new life in Asolo was in a gilded cage of exile.⁷² It was like a coin with two faces, the one of outward magnificence and the other of isolation.

Collectively these three sources suggest that Caterina, behind the cloak of her queenship, was weak and powerless. She was forced into exile, like

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.390.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.392.

⁶⁹ Bustron, *Chronique*, p.458.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.458.

⁷¹ Κυπριανός, *Ιστορία Κύπρου*, p.392.

⁷² Ibid., pp.388-389.

Charlotte, and she never exercised tangible power in exile. Tellingly, the accounts implicitly note that she never sought to return to Cyprus, in direct contrast to Charlotte who never gave up trying to retake the throne of Cyprus, in spite of her bad fortune and the mistakes of her early years. Standing back from these narratives, it is evident that the three Cypriot authors in effect recycle information already known about the two queens and their exiles. In short, the images of the two queens from Cypriot written sources remained the same from the fifteenth until the eighteenth centuries.

Part B:

Charlotte and Caterina: the Italian sources of the sixteenth century

The next parts of the chapter are related to sources predominantly from Venice and Savoy. The aim is to understand how the profiles of Charlotte and Caterina as queens in Cyprus and in exile evolved, and how this shaped their images. As already explained, the sources are separated into chronological periods, because this helps us understand the evolution of their images. All the visual and written sources dedicated to the two from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century will be presented and analysed, as each primary source reflects varying rhetorical constructions of Caterina or Charlotte. Starting from the sixteenth century, a century after the death of Charlotte and the century that Caterina died, this part of the chapter focuses on their images as queens of Cyprus in the period after they had passed their royal rights to Savoy and Venice. The sixteenth century stands out as potentially important as representing the period when the images of the two queens after their deaths was first established, though it was also a period when the “battle” between Venice and Savoy over the royal crown had not yet peaked.

It is, in fact, difficult to discern a clear image of Charlotte, at least from sources that were not officially endorsed by Savoy. As Chapter 3 discussed, in the early sixteenth century, Savoy did not have to fight for pre-eminence against Venice, because the 1504 *Ordo regum*, and *Ordo ducum* seemed to confirm

that the duchy of Savoy was the “pre-eminent Italian dynasty”.⁷³ Moreover, in 1530, at Charles V’s Bologna coronation, Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-1534) formally approved the title of the king of Cyprus to the dukes of Savoy.⁷⁴ These advantages together with some internal problems, made Savoy set aside the title that in the next century would be the apple of discord. Charlotte’s status and importance, consequently, was not in itself politically major to Savoyard polemicists: tellingly, there are no written or iconographical sources dedicated to her. This lacuna suggests that tangible international tensions between Venice and Savoy themselves resulted in the creation of literary, historical and iconographical sources.

Caterina Cornaro presents a somewhat different case, since Venice effectively controlled Cyprus until the Ottoman invasion of 1571. The republic’s seeming pride at controlling Cyprus ensured that Caterina was not marginalised. On the contrary, Caterina enjoyed a relatively prominent visual iconography in this century; it seems partly commissioned by Venice and the Cornaro family. The contrast between the two queens is palpable. This is significant for the understanding of Caterina’s image after her death: she was used to underscore a key moment for Venice and the Cornaro family; that of the donation of the Cypriot crown to the republic. Accordingly, here the visual iconography dedicated to Caterina will be examined first. Presenting sequentially, the paintings provide answers to how Caterina was remembered after her death from her family, her compatriots and the Venetian Republic. Unfortunately, contextual information in the paintings is scant, so we mainly have “the voices” of the paintings themselves. In general, the sixteenth century image of the queen includes the “state” image of Caterina after her death in 1510, used to underscore Venetian reputation through Cyprus’s crown. Also, it includes portraits showing her as a “modest” queen.

⁷³ Toby Osborne, “The Surrogate War” in *The International History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2007), 9.

⁷⁴ AST RC, Mazzo 2, 4, 1r; Elisa Mongiano, “L’acquisizione del titolo regio. I Savoia e la corona di Cipro” in Francesco De Caria and Donatella Taverna, eds., *Anna di Cipro e Ludovico di Savoia e i Rapporti con l’ Oriente Latino in Età Medioevale e Tardomedioevale* (Turin, 1997), 58, Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. III: The Frankish Period, 1432-1571* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.615-616; Gianni Perbellini, “La storia” in Gianni Perbellini, ed., *Cipro, la dote di Venezia: Eredità della Serenissima e ponte verso l’ Oriente* (Milan, 2011), 49.



Fig. 9 Unknown artist, *Caterina Cornaro arrives in Venice* (1515), Civil Museum, Asolo.



Fig. 10 Workshop of Paolo Veronese, *Caterina Cornaro handing the Crown of Cyprus to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo* (c.1585-1590), Unknown location.



Fig. 11 Palma il Giovane, *Caterina Cornaro hands over the Crown of Cyprus to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo* (1580-1585), Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

In terms of the representations of Caterina as Daughter of Venice and the queen of Cyprus, it becomes evident that her image was of one who honoured her city the utmost by donating the island to the republic. There are five triumphal representations of the queen, highlighting her arrival and the handing over of her crown to Doge Agostino Barbarino. In this way, they not only commemorate Caterina, but also the Venetian Republic and the Cornaro family. The first representation (Fig.9) was created in 1515, only five years after Caterina's death, by an unknown artist and currently located in the Civic Museum of Asolo. It shows the queen dressed all in black and uncrowned. The second (Fig.10) is based on a lost painting of Paolo Veronese executed "in the

workshop of Paolo Veronese around 1585-1590",⁷⁵ and again Caterina is depicted in black giving her crown to the doge. The third (Fig.11) was created by Palma il Giovane (c.1548-1628), a prominent Venetian artist creating a series of canvasses for the ducal palace.⁷⁶ The painting with Caterina in black handing again the crown to the doge is created around 1580-1585 and is not located in Berlin. Unfortunately, the context in which it was painted is unknown.⁷⁷

The other two representations were created in the late-1500s for the inside of the ducal palace, something that underlines Caterina's importance for Venice. The two commissions seem to have a political background, as they were probably connected by the fact that some years earlier, in 1571, Venice had lost the island of Cyprus, a catalyst for both fear for the future and nostalgia for the glorious past. The first painting (Fig.12) forms part of a ceiling in the dogal palace in Venice, in the "Sala del Maggior Consiglio", the large state room for the Great Council of Venice. Caterina is shown handing the crown to the doge while the ladies of her retinue support and hold her gown. A work of Leonardo Corona, it was painted in 1585, after the 1577 fire inside the Doge's palace.⁷⁸ It is significant because Caterina's figure is placed between thirty-five related subjects in the most important state building of Venice.⁷⁹ The other depiction of Caterina was created for the dogal palace after the fire by Antonio Vassilacchi, known as Il Aliense, a Greek artist based in Venice. The painting (Fig.13) was located in the banquet hall of the ducal palace called "Sala dei Banchetti", until it was moved in 1851 in Museo Correr.⁸⁰ In the painting's background, the Bucentaur, the state barge of the doge, is situated, while

⁷⁵ Loukia Loizou-Hadjigavriel, "The Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia" in Anastasios G. Leventi, ed., *Cyprus Jewel in the Crown of Venice* (Nicosia, 2003), 171.

⁷⁶ Linda Wolk-Simon and Carmen C. Bamback, *An Italian Journey: Drawings from the Tobey Collection Correggio to Tiepolo* (London, 2010), p.118.

⁷⁷ Candida Syndikus, "Tra autenticità storica e invenzione romantica. L'immagine di Caterina Cornaro nella tradizione artistica e storico-artistica dell'Ottocento e Novecento" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 41-42; Monica Molteni, "Per l'iconografia cinquecentesca di Caterina Cornaro" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 17-18.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 20-21.

⁷⁹ Holly Hurlburt, "Body of Empire: Caterina Corner in Venetian History and Iconography", *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 4 (2009), 61.

⁸⁰ Chryssa Maltezou, "Le donzelle cipriote di Caterina Cornaro dopo il ritorno della regina a Venezia" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 279-281.

Caterina is represented returning, in a “festive mood” accompanied by her brother Giorgio,⁸¹ another essential episode from her life related to Venice. This time the queen is not dressed in black, but retains a modest and prudent demeanour. In general, the two paintings from inside the dogal palace - those of Corona and Vassilacchi - demonstrate that the triumphal image of Caterina was one Venice wanted to perpetuate as an act of remembrance, not only for her sake, but mainly for remembering high-profile historical episodes of importance to the republic. Having in mind that those representations were placed in the dogal palace, they also contributed to a public set of images for Venice that would have been seen by high-profile visitors, including ambassadors. At this early stage, she had therefore been appropriated by the republic for its political aspirations.

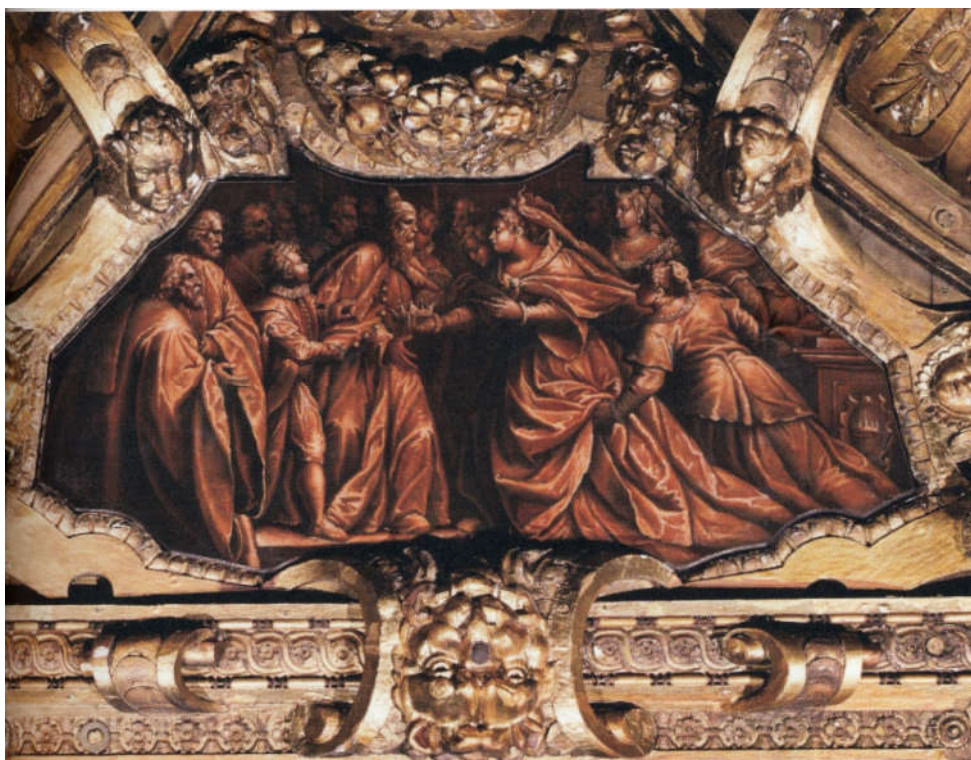


Fig. 12 Leonardo Corona, *Caterina Cornaro cedes the Crown of Cyprus to the Venetian Republic* (1585), Dogal Palace, Venice.

⁸¹ Terence Mullaly, “Caterina, ‘Domina’ of Asolo: Lady of the Renaissance” in David Hunt and Iro Hunt, eds., *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (London, 1989), 147-149.



Fig. 13 Antonio Vassilacchi (Aliense), *The disembarkation of Caterina Cornaro in Venice* (late sixteenth century), Museo Correr, Venice.

Likewise, her tomb (Fig.14a) demonstrates how entrenched the queen's image became soon after her death. Caterina's body was moved to San Salvatore, the interior of which was finished in 1507.⁸² The sculptor and architect of the tomb was Bernardino Contino,⁸³ the architect of the Bridge of Sighs, and also one of the architects of the Rialto Bridge.⁸⁴ In terms of the tomb, Giorgio Cornaro wanted his sister to be removed from Santi Apostoli, where she was firstly placed, as explained in Chapter 2, and in 1518 he had permission to transfer her body to San Salvatore,⁸⁵ where three cardinals were also buried, themselves members of the Cornaro family.⁸⁶ The tomb's central detail (Fig.14b) shows Caterina handing over her crown to Doge Agostino Barbarigo in 1489.⁸⁷ The fact that she is presented giving the crown to the doge in a church - a publicly visible space - shows clearly that her family was promoting the pride and prestige of the Cornaro family during this moment of Caterina's

⁸² Christopher Hibbert, *Venice: The Biography of a City* (London, 1988), p.342.

⁸³ Aldo Berruti, *Patrizio Veneto: I Cornaro* (Turin, 1952), pp.111-112.

⁸⁴ Victoria Charles, *Bridges* (New York, 2015), p.28.

⁸⁵ Hurlburt, "Body", 74-75;

⁸⁶ Ibid., 74; Berruti, *Patrizio*, pp.111-112.

⁸⁷ Francesco Zanotto, *I Monumenti cospicui di Venezia illustrati dal Cav. Antonio Diedo, segretario della I. R. Accademia di Velle Arti in Venezia e da Francesco Zanotto* (Milan, 1839), unpaginated.

life. Caterina shares the centre section with the doge. Behind her are her ladies, while behind the doge are presented five old men. The choice of that subject for the centre section of the monument shows how vital she was for Venetians at that moment. Although she was handing over her crown, she is wearing another on her head, probably because, as Hurlburt explained, the Cornaro family was using it for its coat of arms.⁸⁸



Fig. 14 (a) Bernardino Contino, *The tomb of Caterina Cornaro* (late sixteenth century), San Salvatore, Venice.

⁸⁸ Hurlburt, "Body", 80.



Fig. 14 (b) Detail.

While these images, in effect officially endorsed by Venice, emphasise Caterina's public and political relationship with the republic, other images were also produced that visualised a more intimate set of messages. These images are mainly part of a repeated and stable iconography of Caterina. But, although it is generally accepted that the 1500 contemporary portrait of Caterina, presented in the previous chapter, created by Bellini is the closest to her appearance, there is no evidence of any subsequent paintings that drew on this work. In terms, first of the surviving samples, the image of Caterina is inspired by the modest, non-smiling, three quarter length crowned queen that was first seen in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century portrait of Caterina, now in Asolo, discussed in the previous chapter (Fig.5). It might be argued that this portrait became a model, and inspired various sixteenth century artists, who created variations of the original painting. All the paintings show the mourning-crowned-Caterina in a young age with very similar black clothes, jewels, high pointed royal crown and the original body three-quarter view. Even some of the triumphal paintings just presented showing Caterina handing the crown of Cyprus to Agostino Barbarigo are inspired by Caterina's representation in the lost portrait; these are the painting of the workshop of Paolo Veronese (Fig.10) and the one of Palma il Giovane (Fig.11). As explained above, there are more sixteenth-century samples inspired by the lost portrait. The first portrait, which had been lost, has since September 2017, been displayed in Leventis Museum

and belongs to the Michael Zeipekkis collection. Most probably, it remained in Venice until the end of the nineteenth century when it was sold to a collector in Berlin (Fig.15). The museum claims that was created by a Venetian artist in the mid-sixteenth century and, like the Asolo portrait, was probably extracted from a larger work, where the arms of the queens were included. All the other versions of the portraits explored in this thesis include the arms and hands, including a portrait that is now in *Niedersächsischen Landesmuseums* in Hannover of Germany (Fig.16), the context of which as a commission is also unknown.



Fig. 15 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (mid. sixteenth century), Collection of Michael Zeipekkis in the Leventis Municipality Museum, Nicosia.



Fig. 16 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (sixteenth century), *Niedersächsischen Landesmuseums*, Hannover.

The next four examples are compositions with other figures. Firstly, at the end of the sixteenth century, a double portrait showing Caterina with her sister Cornelia, the wife of Paolo Vendramin (Fig.17),⁸⁹ probably commissioned by the Vendramin or the Cornaro family.⁹⁰ Caterina is depicted with her crown, and her sister Cornelia with a pearl encrusted dress. Secondly, “The Departure

⁸⁹ Syndikus, “L’immagine di Caterina”, 42-43.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 43.

of Caterina from Cyprus with her brother George”, now in *Neuschwanenburg*, in the collection of Transehe (Fig.18), shown with her crown and retinue behind and then two late sixteenth century canvases dedicated to Caterina belonging to the collection of Giustiniani. They are attributed to Andrea Vicentino and Domenico Tintoretto. The one of Andrea Vicentino shows Caterina giving her Cypriot crown to the republic on her return from Cyprus, in order to obtain Asolo, with people deferentially bowing and looking at her (Fig.19).⁹¹ Next to her is her brother Giorgio. Finally, the painting by Domenico Tintoretto shows Caterina in the port of Famagusta leaving the island of Cyprus. Next to her is her brother Giorgio (Fig.20).⁹² The painting shows a number of people wearing black, a sign of mourning for their departing queen.



Fig. 17 Unknown artist, *Caterina Cornaro and her sister Cornelia* (late sixteenth century), Private Collection, Germany.

⁹¹ Ibid., 36; Molteni, “iconografia”, 17-18.

⁹² Ibid., 17-18.



Fig. 18 Unknown artist, *The departure of Caterina Cornaro from Cyprus with her brother Giorgio* (sixteenth century), Collection of Transehe, Neuschwanenburg.



Fig. 19 Andrea Vicentino, *Caterina Cornaro cedes the Kingdom of Cyprus to obtain Asolo* (late sixteenth century), Private Collection, Venice.



Fig. 20 Domenico Tintoretto, *Caterina Cornaro in Famagusta departing from Cyprus* (late sixteenth century), Private Collection, Venice.

By considering each representation dedicated to Caterina, we can identify the various ways Caterina was depicted through the centuries and to compare later images to the original one in order to see how her visual image evolved. More specifically, apart from the multiple copies of Caterina inspired by the modest, non-smiling, three quarter length crowned queen that was first seen in Asolo, the now-lost Titian portrait was equally influential in setting a precedent for subsequent portraits too. It shows Caterina on a dark background, with clasped hands, modest but also illustrious at a young age. She has an impressive crown on her head, embellished with precious stones - it is an imagined crown probably based on the Ottoman keçe, a kind of hat that special male guards of the sultans wore.⁹³ The best copy of it was created by an anonymous painter and is currently located in the Uffizi Gallery, thought to be by a follower of Titian (Fig.21).⁹⁴ Caterina's clothes are embellished with pearls along the seams and she is wearing a pearl crown and earrings. Another sample of this century used to be in the Collezione Manfrin in Venice, though it is now lost (Fig.22).⁹⁵ The portrait depicts, in addition to the illustrious young Caterina, a landscape view from a window.

⁹³ Syndikus, "L'immagine di Caterina", 52-53.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 50-51; Daria Perocco, "Introduzione" in Daria Perocco, ed., *Antonio Colbertaldo. Storia di Caterina Corner, Regina di Cipro: La prima biografia* (Padua, 2012), 52.

⁹⁵ Syndikus, "L'immagine di Caterina", 53-55.



Fig. 21 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (c.1542), Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



Fig. 22 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (second half of the sixteenth century),
Unknown location, Venice.

Apart from the above two portraits of Caterina influenced by the lost Titian portrait, there are additional portraits that take more liberties, suggesting that although Caterina's portraiture was mainly stable and repeated there was room for iconographical variation. The following three examples have some differences from the same lost portrait, but follow the general original posture of the queen with less adornment of jewels. The first of them shows Caterina having the same posture and face expression. However, she wears different clothes than the previous paintings. It was created around 1555 and can be seen in Costas and Rita Severis Collection in Cyprus (Fig.23). The second comes from the Venetian School and it is again in Costas and Rita Severis Collection (Fig.24). It is even more different than the previous one, as Caterina on a black background holds an apple and she has her hair up without wearing

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the original impressive crown on her head. The last portrait that shows Caterina during her latter years is coming from the 1570 Venetian School that can be seen in the *Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Fig.25).⁹⁶ Caterina does not clasp her hands at all in this representation, but again, the posture and face expression is based on the original painting.



Fig. 23 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (c.1555), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

⁹⁶ Λητώ Σεβέρη, *Αρχόντισσες της Μεσαιωνικής Κύπρου και η Αικατερίνη Κορνάρο* (Nicosia, 1995), p.143.



Fig. 24 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (sixteenth century), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.



Fig. 25 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (c.1570), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The above portraits were either inspired by the Asolo painting or Titian's painting, and are important for their number. Also, they show that Caterina's image was moulded to fit specific themes. However, there is also a unique liberal example representing the modest side of the queen as well, by Paolo Veronese (Fig.26). The crowned-bejewelled queen with the long blond hair is depicted at a young age. She has a pearl necklace and pearl embellished neckline on her dress with a central dark gem stone. The crown matches again with pearls and gemstones and is complimented with pearl pendant earrings. However, she is not smiling, she has a glassy stare and her head is reclining. It is a unique creation of the queen, a good example of the flexible figure, but always modest, based on the imagination of other people. These kinds of representations of the queen are mainly seen in later centuries.



Fig. 26 Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (sixteenth century), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

Apart from the visual sources, there is also a written source dedicated to Caterina Cornaro suggesting an abiding interest in her image, and also that she remained embedded in political consciousness. It was during the sixteenth century that the first biography of her was written, the “*Historia di D.D. Catterina Corner Regina di Cipro*”. It was written between 1575 and 1591⁹⁷ by the Asolian nobleman Antonio Colbertaldo (1556-1602).⁹⁸ It is significant because it was not a biography written by someone at distance. On the contrary, Colbertaldo had direct contact with Caterina and her court, since he visited Asolo and could count relatives amongst her courtiers.⁹⁹ Importantly for Colbertaldo, this first-hand knowledge served to underscore the authenticity and veracity of his account.¹⁰⁰ And yet, as we will see, he was not immune to embellishing his narrative with imagined details, which create challenges for the reader.¹⁰¹ Nor, importantly, does the biography examine the fact that Caterina was effectively controlled by her family and by Venice. It is an appraisal of her with some general information of Cyprus’s history. The biography refers explicitly to Caterina’s physical appearance and her dynastic pedigree, underlining that she was a beautiful and honourable lady, noble from her mother and her father’s side, and also the most illustrious and glorious queen of the fertile and delightful island of Cyprus,¹⁰² emphasising the beauty of the queen, which reflects the beauty of her soul. Colbertaldo’s treatment of Caterina’s arrival as an exile in Asolo is revealing. Upon her arrival there in 1490, he notes, a large number of people from various places arrived and assembled in the central square.¹⁰³ In effect, the scale of the event, so Colbertaldo implied, underscored Caterina’s abiding sovereign status. Colbertaldo provides further evidence of Caterina’s sovereignty, when she visited Brescia, after an invitation of her brother, George. For this event, 200 horsemen turned-out, along with a triumphal chariot in

⁹⁷ Luciana Piovesan, “Il Barco nelle Testimonianze dei Biografi Asolani di Caterina Cornaro” in Teresa Marson and Luciana Piovesan, eds., *Il Barco di Altivole: Contributi per la Conoscenza* (Treviso, 2000), 25.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 24; Daria Perocco, “Caterina Cornaro: tra la biografia e il mito” in Daria Perocco, ed., *Caterina Cornaro. L’illusione del regno* (Asolo, 2011), 53.

⁹⁹ Piovesan, “Testimonianze”, 24; Perocco, “Introduzione”, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Piovesan, “Testimonianze”, 24-26.

¹⁰¹ Perocco, “Introduzione”, 15, 21.

¹⁰² Colbertaldo, “Historia”, 73-75.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 156.

Caterina's honour. Events were also organised in Lake Garda.¹⁰⁴ Finally, when she died, Andrea Navagero, mentioned in Chapter 5, delivered the funeral oration.¹⁰⁵ These comments suggest that Caterina was presented as having had an enviable life and sovereign status.

Concluding, it can be said that the various sixteenth century sources dedicated to Caterina either glorify her story and the handing over of the crown to the republic, or present her modest side. Although they are partial towards Caterina, they are significant in setting the tone for her image. She was remembered as the glorious and modest queen who was made to hand over the crown of the island. This was the typical image straight after her death; it suggests how Caterina was remembered, or rather how her family members and Venice used her to benefit themselves. Also, significant is the fact that two triumphal representations of her was inside state rooms of the dogal palace. This can suggest that those portraits were commissioned not only to depict the queen of Cyprus, but to remember more broadly politically important moments of Venice's recent history. As for Charlotte, the fact there are no known written or iconographical sources dating from the sixteenth century is itself suggestive of the possibility that she was forgotten temporarily until she was purposely revived in the seventeenth century by Savoy and Venice for political motives.

Charlotte and Caterina: Italian sources of the seventeenth century

In the seventeenth century, Charlotte of Lusignan's figure reappears in visual sources and a few written sources, while Caterina Cornaro's image is mainly found in written sources, in contrast to the previous century where visual images were more prominent. In general, as already seen, the seventeenth century was critically important because of Savoyard-Venetian rivalries. In 1630, Venice started using in the dogal coats of arms as a closed crown and

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 162.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 176-177.

three years later, the duke of Savoy, Vittorio Amedeo I, claimed the crown of Cyprus too, in an effort to underscore royal status. In this part of Chapter 6, the impacts of those political facts on the visual and written representations of the two queens, Charlotte and Caterina, will be presented and analysed, along with the ways their images changed in this pointedly more politicised international context.



Fig. 27 Guidobaldo Abbatini, *Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus*, entering her name into the registry of members of the confraternity of Santo Spirito (1647), Sacristy of Santo Spirito in Sassia, Rome.

Starting with Charlotte, in this period of heightened Savoyard-Venetian rivalry, there is a painting that includes her, a small portrait picture in a manuscript and a biography of her (the only one of her). The first case is a fresco by Guidobaldo Abbatini (1600-1656),¹⁰⁶ who painted the crowned Charlotte, entering her name in the registry of members of the confraternity of Santo Spirito in Sassia (Fig.27). This fresco is part of a series about the History of the Scuola Saxonum created by Abbatini in the sacristy.¹⁰⁷ Before analysing the fresco, it should be remembered that this is not the first time Charlotte was painted in this church. As seen in the previous chapter, in the fifteenth century

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence B. Phillips, *Dictionary of Biographical Reference containing one hundred thousand names together with a classed index of the biographical literature of Europe and America* (London, 1871), p.2.

¹⁰⁷ Judith Champ, *The English Pilgrimage to Rome. A Dwelling for the Soul* (Leominster, 2000), p.27.

she had been painted in a fresco blessed by Pope Sixtus IV in the building of Corsia Sistina. The fresco of Abbatini can be seen in the sacristy of the church, and was painted in 1647.¹⁰⁸ The fact that Charlotte is presented again in The Vatican, two centuries after her death, was in itself a great honour. At the same time, it should be noted that the only three surviving compositions with Charlotte (two from the fifteenth century and one from the seventeenth century) are in the Vatican, demonstrating that during her exiled years, not only was she welcomed as a queen, but also her story was important enough for her to be painted in this church twice.



Fig. 28 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Charlotte* (1621), Archivio di Stato di Torino, Corte, Museo Storico, Turin.

¹⁰⁸ Silvia Ronchey, *L'enigma di Piero: L'uomo bizantino e la crociata fantasma nella rivelazione di un grande quadro* (Milan, 2006), pp.264-265.

Moving on, a portrait painted by an unknown artist was included in Charlotte's biography, written in Rome in 1621.¹⁰⁹ Charlotte is depicted in profile on a golden background, with a white veil covering the back of her head. She is wearing a crown, emphasising her royalty (Fig.28). The portrait is simple in style and lacks the adornment of jewellery and gemstones that is seen in previous paintings. Although not a painting but a small picture in a manuscript, it is included here, because it is the only surviving sole portrait of the queen, given that the two fifteenth-century-paintings and the above seventeenth-century-painting are scenes including the queen. What is evident from those few fifteenth and seventeenth representations of the queen is, like the case of Caterina, each depiction of her shows her with different facial characteristics, suggesting that the artists used their imagination in depicting her and not her original appearance.

The biography of Charlotte was written by Giacomo Grimaldi (1568-1623),¹¹⁰ an archivist and librarian in St. Peter's,¹¹¹ known principally for his "La Descrizione della basilica antica di S Pietro".¹¹² It survives as a Latin manuscript dating from 1621, entitled "De Carola Lusignana Regina Ludovici de Sabaudia Hierusalem, Cipri et Armeniae Regis carissima coniuge in Vaticana Basilica Sepulta Nonnulla memoria"¹¹³, and here the manuscript version of Turin's *Biblioteca Reale* is used. Grimaldi firstly presents information about the period of Charlotte's reign in Cyprus, already known from Boustronios, Bustron and Lusignano. Besides, the author himself notes that he used Stefano Lusignano for source material. He mentions, for example, the story of Charlotte's crown falling from her head after her coronation as a sign of bad fortune, the wedding to Louis of Savoy and the loss of her kingdom by her stepbrother.¹¹⁴

However, Grimaldi focuses Charlotte's later years, principally her stay in Rome, underlining points that suggest Charlotte was a queen in exile. First, she

¹⁰⁹ Σεβέρη, *Αρχόντισσες*, p.116; Francesco Boni de Nobili, *Caterina Cornaro: Dal Regno di Cipro, alla Signoria di Asolo* (Godega di Sant'Urbano, 2012), p.34.

¹¹⁰ Massimo Ceresa, "Giacomo Grimaldi" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 59 (2002).

¹¹¹ Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum, 2004), p.36.

¹¹² Massimo Ceresa, "Giacomo Grimaldi" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 59 (2002).

¹¹³ BRT GG, Vol, 160bis., 131 1r.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 3r-4r.

“was received by the supreme Pontiff [Pope Sixtus IV] with such a great benignity and munificence as he had admired her incredible courage and gratitude and the Pontiff praised her virtues”.¹¹⁵ Secondly, as a queen she kept her retinue from Cyprus by her side, as noble Cypriots followed her in Rome, showing her faith and fidelity.¹¹⁶ Thirdly, she died as a queen in exile during the reign of Pope Innocent VIII and she kept her royal title even after death. That was the reason why her marble tomb included the inscription “Karola Hierusalem Cypri et Armenia Regina, Obiit XVI julii, anno Domini MCCCCLXXXVII”.¹¹⁷

Grimaldi did not just underline the fact that Charlotte lived and died as queen in exile. His key point seems to be that Charlotte, as the only legitimate queen of Cyprus (even in exile), passed her royal rights to Savoy, whose rulers were thus the only legitimate heirs of her kingdom. As he writes, before her death, Charlotte had signed in Rome her will, deposited in the papal archives, leaving “[t]he concession of the rights of the Kingdom of Cyprus in favour of the Serene Duke of Savoy and his possible successors”.¹¹⁸ The fact that Grimaldi underlined Savoy’s royal rights seems to be connected to relevant political circumstances. As explained in Chapter 4, Savoy wanted the Savoyard Cardinal Maurizio to have the title of “Altezza”, given the royal claim, and Maurizio himself firstly claimed the title of “Altezza” in Rome in 1631. Grimaldi dedicated Charlotte’s biography to Maurizio, the “Serenissimum Principem et Reverendissimum dominum Mauritium de Sabaudia Sancti Eustachii Diaconum Cardinalem amplissimum”.¹¹⁹

Moving on from Charlotte to Caterina’s representations, in terms of the visual imagery of Caterina from the seventeenth century, there is only one representation of her, in contrast to the numerous examples from the previous century. The absence of paintings might suggest that her visual image was of declining importance. The surviving painting of her from this century again show

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 3v.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 3v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 6r.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 4v-6r.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 1r.

her triumphal side, as she is represented with the doge upon her return to Venice with her retinue. The procession takes place in Saint Mark's Square, with Caterina in the centre of the painting. There is a clear distinction between the doge and his representatives on the left in darker colours and Caterina's retinue and boat on the right in lighter colours. The figure of Caterina in this painting, like many of the previous century, was inspired by the portrait of Asolo. It is created by an unknown Venetian artist and can be seen in Lyon, in the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig.29).¹²⁰



Fig. 29 Unknown artist, *Caterina Cornaro returns to Venice* (seventeenth century), Museum of Fine Arts, Lyon.

Despite there being only one seventeenth century painting dedicated to Caterina, there are some written sources as well, including two poems (plus some more that although not dedicated to her, contain information about her), and a comedy. The poems, unlike biographies and historiographies, are free from detail presenting an ideal image of the queen, and stories focus on glorifying her and ascribing a mythologised and triumphant image. To start with, the first poem, written in 1652 by Marc'Antonio Nali, a man who was born in the town of Montagnana and who studied theology in Padua;¹²¹ "La Regina di

¹²⁰ Molteni, "iconografia", 17-19.

¹²¹ Giuseppe Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, Vol. I (Padua, 1832), pp.642-643.

Cipro”, published in Padua, is a narration of Caterina Cornaro’s life.¹²² In his poem, the crowned Caterina is happy on the Hyblaeen Hills, where she lives an eternal life.

So, I am the one
that lives on the Hyblaeen Hills...
I am the immortal queen,
who the kingdoms of the Earth is still glorifying;
thereby, in the beautiful Cyprus,
the beautiful Paphos and Amathus,
of whose crowns adorn my beautiful hair”.¹²³

These words, like all the poems dedicated to Caterina, serve as an encomium of her life and her queenship.

The second poem is included in one of the editions of Colbertaldo’s biography, dating from the early 1600s, and currently located in the Marciana Library; it was written by Marco Stecchini (1564-1606), a poet from Bassano.¹²⁴ The poet, using his imagination, glorifies the old queen and her choice to live in Asolo.

The high queen of the beautiful Cyprus, dead, [...] as Asolo for your Cyprus, your royal (genealogical) tree you chose to live on joys and celebrations.¹²⁵

In another part of the poem, Stecchini associates the greatness of the queen with heavenly beauty and eternal life, while also demonstrating the talent of Colbertaldo.

¹²² Marc’ Antonio Nali, *La Regina di Cipro. Historia. Libri quattro*. (Padua, 1652), p. 1.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 83-84:

“Io pur, che quella sono,
A cui sù i colli Iblei [...].
Io, che pur son quell’immortal Regina,
Che di Regni terreni ancor si vanta;
Quindi la bella Cipro,
Cuindi la bella Pafo, ed’Amatunta.
De le Corone m’ornano il bel crine”.

¹²⁴ Daria Perocco “Caterina e suoi contemporanei. Annotazioni sulla presenza di Caterina Cornaro tra viaggiatori, storici e poeti” in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 208.

¹²⁵ BNM AC 8182, 4 r; Colbertaldo, “Historia”, 71:

“L’ alta Reina del bel Cipro Morta [...]
Che Asolo per tuo Cipro, Albero Reggio
Sciegliesti già vivendo in gioie, e feste”.

The great Colbertaldo, whose nature and art
explains all magnificence and bears greatness.
About your noble life, he is the mirror and a guide.
You will have eternal life, in every part [...].
Happy lady that you have a painter that is egregious
from heaven in fate, as he paints in the sheets
your greatness and the heavenly beauty.¹²⁶

In the same manuscript, are two more poems by Antonio Cesana, one in Italian and the other in Latin, and dedicated to Colbertaldo. Cesana as he wrote himself in his Italian poem, apart from being a poet, was also a count and citizen of Asolo, though there is no other information about him. Caterina, once again, is presented as an idealised figure, a divine queen who

lives in heaven and in our written sources. The lady inspires, as she is in her high throne... and for Caterina [...] gave glory about the life, beauty and high honour.¹²⁷

In the Latin poem, mostly dedicated to Colbertaldo, Cesana underscored the sense of Caterina's virtues, writing of her as "[A]mong the mortals, admired goddess".¹²⁸

In the seventeenth century poems of Nali, Stecchini and Cesana, the overarching theme is of a great Venetian republic past, and the poems do not directly assert a tradition of Christian rule in Cyprus. Caterina is presented as the great queen of Cyprus, exquisitely beautiful and immortal. Likewise, the period that Caterina and then Venice ruled Cyprus was great, beautiful and immortal in the memory of the Venetians. Considering the portraiture of the

¹²⁶ BNM AC 8182, 4r; Colbertaldo, "Historia", 71:

"Gran Colbertaldo, in cui natura et Arte
Spiega ogni Pompa, e meraviglia apporta.
Alla sua nobil vita, è specchio è scorta.
Altrui dai Vita eterna, e in ogni parte [...].
Felice Donna, che hai Pittor sì egreggio
Dal ciel in sorte, che dipinge in foglio
Le tue Grandezze, e da beltà celeste".

¹²⁷ BNM AC 8182, 130r:

"Ha vita in cielo, e nelle vostre carte.
Spira la Donna, che del seggio altero [...].
E a Catterina, [...] e dato il vanto
Di Vita, di beltà, e di sommo honore".

¹²⁸ Ibid., 130v: "Inter mortales: conspicienda Dea".

queen after her death - including the only painting of her from the seventeenth century (Fig.29) - again Caterina is not used to assert a tradition of Christian rule. Caterina's portraiture principally comprises portraits and pieces of art related to the Venetian republic, mainly her return to Venice and the ceding of the crown.

We can underscore this by adding that in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Giulio Strozzi wrote a poem enhancing Venice's role in the struggle against the Turks. Strozzi was a Venetian nobleman, illegitimate child of the banker Roberto Strozzi who moved to Rome, because it was his father's will to have an ecclesiastical career. However, talented in letters, he focused on writing literature and plays.¹²⁹ In his poem "La Venetia edificata", he wrote about Venice's glorious past and the present problems against the Turks:

And only you remain against the great tyrant,
now in Aegean Sea, now in the treacherous Ionean Sea [...].
Seeing the illustrious victories and counts
amongst whom more illustrious was Mocenigo, the voice
that knew how the kingdom of the widow queen
of Cyprus had to be saved from the ravage.¹³⁰

At this point in time, Venice had lost almost all its colonies in the Aegean. The Ionian islands were still under Venetian control, but were themselves threatened by Ottoman expansionism. Strozzi seems apprehensive about this situation, but while he characterizes the Ottomans great tyrants, Caterina was remembered by Strozzi as part of the glorious Venetian past. She is presented for the first time not as a divine queen, but as a widow queen regnant of Cyprus, who kept the island because of the capable Venetian Mocenigo, who was fighting against the enemies.

¹²⁹ Paolo Cecchi, "Giulio Strozzi" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 94 (2019).

¹³⁰ Lorenzo Somma, *La Regina Cornaro tra Cipro e Venezia* (Venice, 1995), p.261:

"E sol Voi star'al gran Tiranno a fronte
hor nell'Egeo, hor nell'Ionio infido, [...].
E vedean le vittorie illustri, e conte,
in cui più chiaro ha 'l Mocenigo 'l grido,
che seppe 'l Regno a vedova Regina
di Cipri conservar dalla rapina".

Aside from the poems, a dramatic comedy of 1675, “Caterina Cornara regina di Cipro, Opera Comica”, written and published by Giacomo Medici, (about whom little is known), presents another set of images of the two queens.¹³¹ The dialogues are placed in Cyprus, and in the beginning of the first scene Medici wrote:

Poor Jacques! Unfortunate heir! The German Charlotte holds the sceptre, aspires to the crown, breaths the shadows of Porpora. The heavy machine of the kingdom relies on the Savoyard prince.¹³²

However, as the author continued, Charlotte, stripped of her father’s possessions, ultimately abdicated the crown.¹³³ These comments uniquely present Charlotte as a usurper of the throne. On the other side, after her husband’s death, Caterina is given a sad monologue, having to live in a different way than what she was planning to as a queen of Cyprus next to her husband.¹³⁴ Again, the author was not concerned with historical accuracy, but used his imagination as the poets had done. Unfortunately, there is no information as to whether this work was performed.

Reviewing all the above information, the seventeenth century was pivotal in the evolution of the images of the two queens after their deaths. First, Charlotte reappeared with her crown on her head, with both visual and written sources dedicated to her. Especially, her representation inside The Vatican two centuries after her death, clearly demonstrates the importance of her image in that century. As for Caterina, although there are not a comparable number of representations, in contrast to the previous century, the written sources verify the same things as the visual sources of the sixteenth century; they emphasise her virtues of modesty and self-control and the fact that she upheld Venice’s reputation by donating her royal crown to her motherland.

¹³¹ Giacomo Medici, *Caterina Cornara regina di Cipro, Opera Comica* (Udine, 1675), p.1.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.48-49.

Charlotte and Caterina: Italian sources of the eighteenth century

To my knowledge, there is a complete lacuna of sources for Charlotte during the eighteenth century. By contrast, Caterina was the subject of various media types, encompassing paintings and written sources in different genres underlining the relative strength of her image. In general, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Savoy's aspirations over Cyprus's crown settled down, as they were granted the kingdom and crown of Sicily in 1713, exchanged with the kingdom and crown of Sardinia in 1720.¹³⁵ In the mid-eighteenth century, Venice recognised the royal dignity of Savoy and Carlo Emanuele III in public events.¹³⁶ This might explain the lack of sources dedicated to Charlotte, whose only survived biography was in the previous century, the time that there was a political rivalry between Venice and Savoy over the royal title of Cyprus.



Fig. 30 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (late eighteenth century), University art collection, Sydney.

¹³⁵ Mongiano, "L'acquisizione del titolo regio", 66.

¹³⁶ AST NV, Mazzo. 1, folder 18, p.1r.



Fig. 31 Unknown artist, *The arrival of Queen Caterina Cornaro to Cyprus* (eighteenth century), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.



Fig. 32 Paul Joseph Delcloche, *Caterina Cornaro inspecting the fortifications at Famagusta of Cyprus* (eighteenth century), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.



Fig. 33 Vincenzo Guarana, *The doge receiving the Crown of Cyprus from Caterina Cornaro* (1780), Ca'Barbarigo della Terrazza, Venice.

Looking first at the visual evidence, Caterina's image in the eighteenth century was inspired partially by the modest, non-smiling, three quarter length, crowned queen that was firstly seen in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century portrait of Caterina, now in Asolo. The surviving painting is a late eighteenth-century-painting of the queen,¹³⁷ which arrived in Australia in the nineteenth century (Fig.30) and was donated to the University of Sydney by the Englishman, Sir Charles Nicholson (about whom information is limited).¹³⁸ In the

¹³⁷ Louise Tegar, "Extreme makeover: Changing faces and places", *Muse Magazine*, Issue 12 (2007), 1, 6.

¹³⁸ Craig Barker, "The Queen and I Dr Craig Barker rekindles his interest about a 15th century queen and discovers that she is still inspirational today", *Muse Magazine*, Issue 2 (2012), 6-8.

background on the right there is a column with her name and royal title inscribed upon it. In addition, there is a view of a landscape behind the column and a red curtain behind Caterina on the left side. It gives the impression that she is situated in the entrance of a large residence, possibly a palace. This painting shows clearly the persistence of a particular iconography of Caterina, as this representation of her was firstly seen in late fifteenth century.

Apart from the modest aspect of Caterina, there are three other compositions depicting her surrounded with other people. In all of them, the figure of the queen is mainly based on the imagination of the creators and not according to the model portraits of her. Also, they can be called theatrical paintings, because of the positions of the bodies, the costumes and the setting. The first two compositions show Caterina as resident queen in Cyprus and both belong to the Costas & Rita Severis Collection. The first of them is created by an unknown artist and shows Caterina's arrival in Cyprus (Fig.31). The painting depicts the view from inside an entrance, which is clearly shown by the archway around the edge of the painting. The view outwards is of Caterina's moored boat in the background with a gangway leading up to it. Caterina has just disembarked, with people behind her on the left of the painting. On the gangway there is a blond boy carrying a crown placed on a cushion. On the right side of the gangway are a depiction of various people, principally a man in armour and a boy holding a hunting dog. The variety of people, including men wearing turbans and the boy, suggest the painter envisioned the scene of the fifteenth century.

The second painting was created by the Flemish artist Paul Joseph Delcloche (1716-1755) and the unique subject is not connected to any previous painting, as it shows the queen inspecting the fortifications of Famagusta (Fig.32). Caterina is the brightest figure of the painting, in an upright, strong posture, pointing at a plan which is at the centre of the painting. She appears to be giving direction to the man in red, possibly the architect, who is holding the plan. Caterina's posture and authoritative stance suggest a strong queen regnant. Behind her there is a lady of her retinue, while all the other people in the painting are men. She is accompanied by soldiers who are listening obediently and watching the progress. On the right of the painting, are two

workmen laying stones, with two other men above doing stone work in readiness for the stones to be lifted by the wooden crane, and workmen on top of the fortification above the archway.

The third case is a painting, created around 1780, and is located in Venice's *Ca'Barbarigo della Terrazza* (Fig.33).¹³⁹ It is an historical portrait of the queen, depicting the doge receiving the crown of Cyprus from Caterina, a subject found in many other portraits of the queen from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. This time, the event is presented inside, with the doge and Caterina looking directly at each other. Caterina is pointing at the crown which is placed on a red cushion while being held by a boy. Next to Caterina is a man looking at her, possibly her brother Giorgio, who accompanies her. Caterina is surrounded by the ladies of her retinue on the left of the painting, with the background filled with men.

In terms of the written sources dedicated to Caterina, there is a biography and a tragedy about her. It is important for us to see if the authors present her entire life or if they just glorified her story as a means of glorifying Venice. The surviving-eighteenth-century-manuscript-biography written by an anonymous author is now in the *Archivio di Stato* in Asolo. This valuable source affords an understanding of the eighteenth century image of Caterina as with his comments he emphasised the help she had from Venice and how she kept her sovereign status while she was in exile. More specifically, the source underlined that when Caterina was ruling Cyprus, she faced a significant threat from Charlotte, and she managed to retain the island because she had Venice's undivided help, perhaps suggesting Caterina's weakness without the republic's support.¹⁴⁰ The source furthermore emphasised the point that Caterina had retained her sovereign status following her abdication, but in general does not add anything to the profile of the queen, repeating information already known from other sources. More particularly, it says that, as the queen could not survive in a period of threatening Turkish danger, Giorgio Cornaro was sent to

¹³⁹ Daria Perocco, ed., *Antonio Colbertaldo: Storia di Caterina Corner Regina di Cipro, La prima biografia* (Padua, 2011), illustrazioni: 19.

¹⁴⁰ AMA An, ms. 17, 6r.

the island to bring Caterina back as a legitimate queen, and not just as another adopted daughter.¹⁴¹ When she arrived in Venice, she was, moreover, welcomed by Doge Agostino Barbarigo and the nobles of Venice.¹⁴² As for her life in Asolo, she had in her court Asolians, Venetians and Cypriots, underscoring her status in exile.¹⁴³

Apart from the biography, there is an eighteenth century tragedy dedicated to the queen, “Caterina, regina di Cipro”, that was presented in Venice’s *San Luca* theatre during the Carnival of 1783.¹⁴⁴ It was written by Vincenzo Formaleoni (Piacenza 1752-Mantua 1797), a practising cartographer. He was also the author of historical and geographical works, romances and some tragedies ‘devoid of any real interest’, as has been disparagingly written.¹⁴⁵ The story, based on the author’s imagination and not the actual life of Caterina in Cyprus, was probably the first dramatic work dedicated to Caterina. It is set in Famagusta, in the *Palazzo Lusignano*, when Jacques II was already dead, but her relative, Giorgio Contarini, was still alive, talking as he does, to the queen. However, it does not provide any new insights into the queen than the ones given in previous works. So, again a source glorified Caterina’s decision of handing over the crown of Cyprus to Venice, something that suggests that this narrative of the queen had effectively become standardised in the various written and visual sources.

The fact that the idealised image of Caterina became standardised in written sources is also shown in a manuscript of 1751 written by E[usegno ?] Balbi di Bernardo with the title “Stema Gentilizio di tutta la qui retroscritta Nobilissima Famiglia Corner Veneta” found in the eighteenth-century-private-archive of the Corner family (of S. Polo and S. Maurizio). As expected, it mentioned that the family originated from the Roman Cornelius,¹⁴⁶ though the book is not an appraisal of Caterina Cornaro, as the information about her is

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 7r-7v.

¹⁴² Ibid., 9r

¹⁴³ Ibid., 11v-13r.

¹⁴⁴ Vincenzo Formaleoni, *Caterina Regina di Cipro. Tragedia in cinque atti in verso sciolto: Rappresentata nel Teatro S. Luca di Venezia nel Carnovale dell’anno 1783* (Venice, 1783), 3-4; Perocco, “biografia e mito”, 44.

¹⁴⁵ Mario Infelise, “Vincenzo Formaleoni” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 49 (1997).

¹⁴⁶ ASV AC, 38v.

brief and general, while there were many more details about her brother, Giorgio. In terms of the queen, the work focuses on four repeated elements: her wedding to Jacques II; the protection from Venice; the handing over of the crown of Cyprus to the doge; and the fact that she remained queen while in exile.¹⁴⁷

Apart from these sources, there is a manuscript dated 23 October 1700 that focus on the Savoyard-Venetian rivalry over Cyprus's royal title. It was written by Paolina Pontini, about whom we have no information apart from the fact that she was a relative to the Venetian advocate Zaccaria Pontini¹⁴⁸ and probably the first - and only - female commentator about the politics of the rivalry.¹⁴⁹ She opened her work by stating that the most reliable professors of law from the universities should be hired to analyse their opinions over the rights of Venice to the royal crown of Cyprus, given Savoy's claims.¹⁵⁰ Pontini's opinion was that while Savoy and Venice competed for the royal title, the Turks were in actual possession of Cyprus.¹⁵¹ This source matters for the posthumous images of Charlotte and Caterina as in the source, the two old queens are not the protagonists, as in most of the other sources presented in this part of the thesis. In fact, their personal stories are only briefly mentioned to enlighten the rights mainly of Savoy.

Pontini's source presents more information about Charlotte than Caterina. Charlotte is characterised as the only legitimate child of King Jean II of Cyprus,¹⁵² who transferred twice her royal rights to Savoy, the first time in 1462 in Savoy and the second time in 1485 in Rome in front of the pope and cardinals. Moreover, when Jacques III died the closest royal blood line person was Charlotte, so again legitimately she had every right to rule Cyprus again. As for those who claimed that as Charlotte was a woman, she should not have been queen, the same as Pontini continued, should be for Caterina Cornaro,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 48v-49r.

¹⁴⁸ BC PP, IVr

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., IIIr, IVv.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1r.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 1v-2r.

¹⁵² Ibid., 2r-2v.

who not only was a woman, but also she had no royal blood lineage.¹⁵³ Finally, there was one more reason Charlotte had legitimate rights. As Pontini underlined, according to Sabellico, the fifteenth-century-official-historiographer of Venice discussed in the previous chapter, the Captain-General Mocenigo had told to Charlotte that by that period of time, what matters when becoming king or queen was not the legislation but the power of the arms.¹⁵⁴ However, Portini believed that this answer was a big mistake from the side of Venice. That was because it was like an admission that the royal title of Cyprus belonged to Savoy as there was no legal context in Venetian claim over the title.¹⁵⁵ So again, the emphasis is on the crown and sovereign legitimacy, and not the personality of the queen.

In general, the eighteenth century was a period of relative calm in Savoyard-Venetian relations. However, Caterina's story remained a source of inspiration for authors and artists alike. Besides, the late eighteenth century was a period of sustained political difficulties for Venice, which fell forever in 1797. The act of remembering the queen in effect was a means to look back to a golden age of empire in a period of decline. What is fundamental now is to see if the productivity of sources like those continued in the next century, after the fall of Venice and until the Italian Unification.

Charlotte and Caterina: the nineteenth century sources

This section addresses the relative iconographies of the two queens in the nineteenth century, the period in which the Italian Peninsula was politically unified. Until 1861, all the Savoyard dukes (kings of Sardinia) retained, however notionally, the title of kings of Cyprus. In 1861, Vittorio Emanuele II abandoned it for the title of king of Italy.¹⁵⁶ However, as in the previous century, there is no

¹⁵³ Ibid., 3r.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 34r.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 34r-35r.

¹⁵⁶ Eugenio Musatti, *Venezia e Casa Savoia* (Padua, 1889), p.47.

visual or written source dedicated to Charlotte, suggesting again that the sources were only connected to the period of intense political rivalry between Savoy and Venice. By contrast, it was in this very century of Unification that the image of Caterina was restored for good, though in a markedly less politicised manner. For this reason, it should be underlined that Caterina's iconography has no relation to that formed during the old "battle" between Savoy and Venice. Over a long period, Caterina's iconography had settled into a coherent set of images that celebrated her political modesty, with undertones of princely glory. During the nineteenth century, by contrast, the celebratory tone became more marked, something that clearly suggests that this is the period of the apotheosis of her image. She became a figure of interest who surpassed the Cypriot and Italian borders and was established mainly with a romanticised profile across Europe.

Caterina can be located in a wider context, amongst those fifteenth and sixteenth century women whose story inspired many artists and writers. Here four will be mentioned briefly (with some works dedicated to them), as they were all subjects of operas by the Italian composer Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) as with Caterina. The first one is Lucrezia Borgia, duchess of Ferrara and daughter of the pope Alexander VI, (1480-1519). Lucrezia, although she was not a queen, is included here as she was amongst the most famous women in the Italian Peninsula in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, like Caterina. The other three were queens, Anne Boleyn, queen of England (r. 1533-1536), Mary Stuart, queen of Scots (r. 1542-1567) and Elizabeth I, queen of England (r. 1558-1603). Opera like other forms of art, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, are affected and inspired by their contexts, and thus add more dimensions to our understandings of posthumous iconographies.

To emphasise the point that Caterina's case was not unique, we should mention briefly some of the nineteenth century works dedicated to these four women. Starting with Lucrezia Borgia, in 1833, the French poet and playwright Victor Hugo created a prose tragedy, *Lucrèce Borgia*, while in the same year Gaetano Donizetti created the melodramatic opera *Lucrezia Borgia* based on a

libretto of Felice Romani.¹⁵⁷ In 1830, Donizetti, again with the librettist Felice Romani, presented the opera *Anna Bolena*.¹⁵⁸ Also, the playwright Tom Taylors presented in 1875 the play *Anne Boleyn*, an historical drama.¹⁵⁹ Mary Stuart inspired the German playwright Friedrich Schiller, whose play was called *Maria Stuart*.¹⁶⁰ Donizetti, in 1835, presented his opera about her with the title *Maria Stuarda*, with the libretto of Giuseppe Bardari.¹⁶¹ As for Elizabeth I, Gioachino Rossini's "Elizabetta, regina d'Inghilterra" was presented in Naples in 1815¹⁶², and subsequently elsewhere in Italy and abroad.¹⁶³ Moreover, the dramatist Jacques-François Ancelot created *Elisabeth d'Angleterre* in 1829, while the playwright Eugène Nus with Alphonse Brot wrote *Le Testament d'Elisabeth* in 1867.¹⁶⁴ *Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* is an 1829 opera of Donizetti with the libretto of Andrea Leone Tottola.¹⁶⁵ The character of Elizabeth is included in Donizetti's 1837 opera *Roberto Devereux*, with the libretto of Salvatore Cammarano.¹⁶⁶

During the nineteenth century there are visual representations of the three queens mentioned above, just like Caterina. Boleyn inspired Edward Cibot who painted the *Anne Boleyn in the Tower* in 1835, Gustave Wappers whose 1838 work is called *Anne Boleyn says a final goodbye to her daughter, princess Elizabeth* and Edward Matthew Ward who created in 1871 *Anne Boleyn at the Queen Stairs*.¹⁶⁷ The iconography of Mary Stuart includes *Mary, Queen of Scots and Mary Know* created in 1874 by Samuel Sidley¹⁶⁸ and *Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* made in 1867 by Robert Inerarity

¹⁵⁷ George Jellinek, *History through the Opera Glass: From the Rise of Caesar to the Fall of Napoleon* (London, 1994), p.140.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.184.

¹⁵⁹ Susan Bordo, *The Creation of Anne Boleyn: A New Look at England's Most Notorious Queen* (Boston, 2013), p.155.

¹⁶⁰ Jellinek, *Opera Glass*, pp.192-193.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.192.

¹⁶² Charles Osborne, *The Bel Canto Operas of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini* (London, 1994), p.46.

¹⁶³ Ibid., pp.47-48.

¹⁶⁴ Beth S. Wright, "Delaroche and the drama of history: gesture and impassivity from the Children of Edward IV to Marie-Antoinette at the Tribunal" in Sarah Hibberd and Richard Wrigley, eds., *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750-1850: Exchanges and Tensions* (London, 2014), p.185.

¹⁶⁵ Giorgio Bagnoli, *The La Scala Encyclopedia of the Opera: A Complete Guide 1597 to the Present with over 500 illustrations*, translated by Graham Fawcett (London, 1993), p.120.

¹⁶⁶ Jellinek, *Opera Glass*, p.195.

¹⁶⁷ Alison Weir, *The Lady in the Tower: The Fall of Anne Boleyn* (London, 2010), p.xi.

¹⁶⁸ Christopher Wright with Catherine Gordon and Mary Peskett Smith, *British and Irish Painting in Public Collections: An Index of British and Irish Oil Paintings by Artists born before 1870 in Public and Institutional Collections in the United Kingdom and Ireland* (London, 2006), p.724.

Herdman.¹⁶⁹ As for the case of Elizabeth I, Augustus Leopold Egg painted in 1848 the *Queen Elizabeth Discovers She is No Longer Young* and David Wilkie Wynfield created in 1875 the *Incident in the Life of Elizabeth*.¹⁷⁰

Before presenting the relevant sources dedicated to Caterina, some context should be given about the romanticisation of female princes, with Caterina ranked amongst women who were depicted as romantic heroines in written and visual works during the nineteenth century. Her case study as a romantic heroine, throws light on Romanticism and the values of the movement. More specifically, in Romantic literature and art, the focus was mainly on the imagination, feelings, emotions and the inner world.¹⁷¹ Heroes could be individuals able to “surpass the historical framework of their existence”.¹⁷² Thus, romantic heroes and heroines did not have to be heroic - they could just be leading characters of a written source (novels, poems, stories and plays).¹⁷³ They could also come from the distant past or from a foreign land.¹⁷⁴ But apart from real figures, there were also imaginative characters, whose stories again were idealised.¹⁷⁵ That is what happened with Caterina in the nineteenth century, when her story inspired opera artists and authors, who presented her as a romantic heroine who had an honourable life and death. However, it should be clarified that not every work dedicated to her can be characterized as a product of Romanticism. There are paintings dedicated to her based on the old models of her and written works where the authors tried to be realistic with Caterina and her story.

Starting with Caterina's iconography, we can start with three modest paintings. In all of them, she is crowned, emphasising her fundamental royal status. The first two works are again influenced by the lost Titian portrait,

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p.414.

¹⁷⁰ Dianne Williams, “Elizabeth I: size matters” in Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, eds., *Goddesses and Queens: The iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester, 2007), p.80.

¹⁷¹ Joanne Schneider, *The Age of Romanticism* (Westport, 2007), pp.xiii-xiv.

¹⁷² Patricia J. Siegel and Brian Tarro “Alfred De Musset” in David Baguley, ed., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature: Volume V: The Nineteenth Century in two parts* (New York, 1994), 261.

¹⁷³ Walter L. Reed, *Meditations on the Hero: A Study of the Romantic Hero in Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London, 1974), p.8.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.18.

¹⁷⁵ Simon Williams, *Wagner and the Romantic Hero* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.12-13.

suggesting once more that this modest profile of the queen became a model used by various artists across the centuries. These two nineteenth-century-pieces were by unknown artists, so information about them is limited. The first case is a portrait now in the Archaeological Museum of Cyprus, which is another version of the Asolo-fifteenth-century-portrait (Fig.34a). The portrait has been subject to recent restoration and conservation by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, completed in 2019, and now shows the original full-length crown (Fig. 34b). In order to maintain the narrative of the painting, both layers were retained, hence why the draping curtain can be partially seen covering the crown, like all the previous cases already described. It is suggested that when the portrait changed hands, the crown was altered, but the reason for this alteration is unknown

The second is a portrait of the queen wearing Cypriot dress, created by an unknown Venetian artist and located in Asolo's *Museo Civico* (Fig.35). Caterina is wearing a veil and a crown, which is different from previous crown depictions. This time her clothes are not embellished with jewels and precious stones. This is a representation of Caterina emphasising modesty, having her hands clasped and wearing a cross on a necklace. It should be noted that in all the previous representations, Caterina was not wearing a cross. But, as we will see, there are also some other nineteenth-century representations of her with a cross. In addition to the cross, she is wearing a second necklace with a crown pendant. The modest side is represented by the cross and the crown pendant can show her royal side.

Apart from these two paintings based on the lost Titian portrait, there is another nineteenth-century-portrait that reiterates a modest image of Caterina, a work of the London-based artist, Gustave Bouvier, now in the Costas & Rita Severis Collection (Fig.36).¹⁷⁶ It is known that in 1878 a man called William Short from Birmingham (about whose information is limited) asked Bouvier to create a portrait of Caterina.¹⁷⁷ On the bottom of the left part of the painting

¹⁷⁶ Rita Severis, (Profile Writer) in Marina Vryonidou and Loukia Hadjigaviel, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: the last Queen of Cyprus 1473-1489* (Nicosia, 1995), 97.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 97.

there are depicted the coat-of-arms of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia. Caterina is illustrated in profile as a young lady with a white veil and a coronet with precious stones on her head. Her clothes are embellished with pearls and gem stones and she has two lines of pearls across her neckline with a pearl and precious stone cross. The portrait follows the example of Bouvier and is not inspired by previous representations of Caterina.



Fig. 34 (a) Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (nineteenth century), Archaeological Museum of Cyprus, Nicosia.



Fig. 35 (b) Detail.



Fig. 36 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (nineteenth century), Civil Museum, Asolo.



Fig. 37 Gustave Bouvier, *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro* (1878), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

While these images present a consistent image of personal modesty, elsewhere Caterina was represented as a romantic heroine with greater theatricality, where those episodes that served Venice's public reputation were markedly celebrated. Caterina is painted based on the imagination of the artists, in pieces of art that are full of emotion and reminisce about the glorious past; as Caterina is depicted like an idealised figure as the old glorified queen of Cyprus that made Venice proud. It has to be underlined that all these works had no connection to the old Savoyard-Venetian rivalry, and it should be added also that the paintings presented here are not from the Italian Peninsula alone, but from other European locations too. It is significant that almost no painting, as it will be seen, is related to a part of her life that is of significance to Venice as well.



Fig. 38 Francesco Antonibon, *The Wedding of Caterina Cornaro* (1847), Civil Museum, Asolo.



Fig. 39 Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner, *The departure of the galley with Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, from Venice to the island of Cyprus* (1865), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

To start with, there are two paintings depicting the queen in her early life, while she was in Venice. These two representations not only show Caterina in her early life, but also indirectly glorify Venice's history, as Venice had benefited by finally taking the control of Cyprus some years later as a result of Caterina's

marriage to Jacques II. The first painting was a work of the Vicentine nobleman Francesco Antonibon (1809-1883), who also produced historical paintings, portraits and altarpieces,¹⁷⁸ and who created this piece in 1847, now in the *Museo Correr* (Fig.37). Caterina is depicted on a stage marrying by proxy next to the doge and opposite her is Jacques's representative, maybe inside Doge's palace. Both Caterina and the doge are looking at the representative of the king of Cyprus, who is possibly conducting the marriage. The scene is surrounded by people, mainly in red, either looking straight at the three main figures or talking amongst themselves.

The second is a work by Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner (1808-1894), a German artist famous for his watercolours who travelled around Europe and the Middle East, including Italy and Venice.¹⁷⁹ Amongst his works, he painted in 1865 "The Departure of the Galley with Caterina Cornaro, queen of Cyprus, from Venice to the island of Cyprus" now in the Costas & Rita Severis Collection (Fig.38).¹⁸⁰ The painting shows Saint Mark's Square with the departure occurring in front of the Dogal Palace. The scene is depicted as if the viewer is on a boat facing the palace. Caterina on the centre right is surrounded by her retinue, waving farewell and getting ready to depart. She is preparing to embark on the Saint Mark flagged Bucentaur. She is accompanied by a male figure who could be a representative of Cyprus or her brother. Behind, there is a large public audience saying their farewell.

Another two paintings show Caterina as resident queen in Cyprus, both in the Costas & Rita Severis Collection. Again, the idealised beauty of the queen is depicted in both paintings connected to Venice's history. The first painting is a work by Jacques Clément Wagrez (1846-1908) a French portrait painter, illustrator and decorator¹⁸¹ and the second painting was created around 1900 by the English artist Robert Anning Bell (1863-1933). Both the paintings of Bell and Delcloch were evidently by non-Italian artists. Wagrez's painting

¹⁷⁸ Giuseppe Pavanello, *La pittura del Veneto: L'Ottocento*, Vol. 2 (Milan, 2003), p.663.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Central European Drawings in the Collection of the Crocker Art Museum: Volume 2 of Catalogues of Art-Historical Collections* (2004), p.264.

¹⁸⁰ Rita Severis (Profile Writer), 82-85.

¹⁸¹ Gabriel Pierné, *Correspondance romaine* (Lyon, 2005), p.398.

depicts the moment, on 26 February 1489, that Caterina gave her crown to Captain Francesco Priuli (Fig.39). The scene is depicted inside the palace, with Caterina sharing the centre of the painting with Priuli. Caterina stands in front of her throne talking to Priuli and pointing at the crown, which is held by a child. Behind Caterina is a lady of her retinue, while behind Priuli there are a number of men, probably new Venetian officials in Cyprus.



Fig. 40 Jacques Clément Wagrez, *Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, gives her crown to the Captain Francesco Priuli in 26 February 1489* (1890), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

The painting by Bell presents Caterina for the first time sitting on her throne (Fig.40). This painting, like the one of Paul Joseph Delcloch (Fig.32), depict moments of the life of Caterina in Cyprus that do not glorify at the same time Venice, as almost all the other paintings do. The painting, a work of the artist's imagination, is dissimilar from previous paintings. It depicts the relaxed Caterina being kissed on the hand by a turban wearing figure. Catarina is neither wearing a crown or jewellery, while her dress is simple without adornment. In front of her is a guard holding a pole in his right hand and a shield with a coat of arms of Venice, as we can see the lion of Saint Mark.

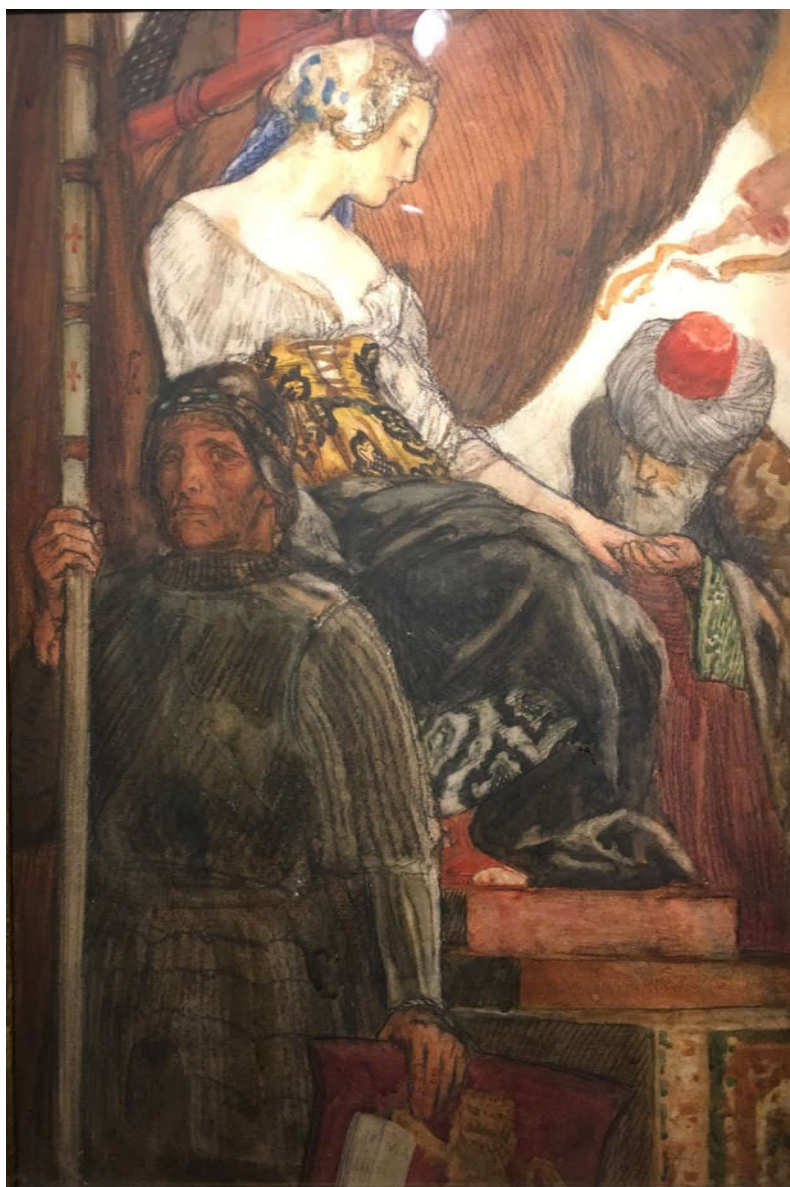


Fig. 41 Robert Anning Bell, *Catherine Queen of Cyprus*, Costas and Rita Severis Collection (c.1900), Nicosia.

Finally, there are some more pieces of art, four out of ten created in the nineteenth century, depicting Caterina back in Venice. The first is by Eugène Boudin (1824-1898), a French impressionist who painted mainly landscapes.¹⁸² His work of 1875, "Caterina Cornaro being received by the Doge of Venice upon her return from Cyprus", is now in the Costas & Rita Severis Collection (Fig.41). The second piece of art is from a French School and is almost identical to Boudin's painting (Fig.42). Both are similar versions of the unknown seventeenth-century painting, in figure 29. The third is by the Austrian artist Hans Makart (1840-1884) of the Aestheticist Movement enjoying "greater prestige and wealth than any painter since Rubens",¹⁸³ who had visited Venice various times.¹⁸⁴ This work, dating between 1872 and 1873, is in Belvedere Palace of Vienna, and pays homage to Caterina Cornaro (Fig.43). The piece of art was copied in 1874 by the German artist Ernest J. Preyer writing on the reverse "painted from memory" (Fig.44). These two almost identical works, seem to be indebted to Rubens' Marie de' Medici cycle, a collection of paintings created in the seventeenth century to celebrate the life of the queen mother and intended for her Luxembourg Palace in Paris.¹⁸⁵ This collection of Marie "turned her vices into virtues, her defeats into victories, her wars into peace".¹⁸⁶ From this collection, in the "Disembarkation at Marsailles", the allegorical personification of France is depicted bowing to Marie de' Medici.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, in Makart and Preyer's pieces of art the people of Venice are paying homage to Caterina and grateful for the donation of Cyprus. Caterina is represented as a powerful queen sitting in an elevated position on a throne on blue carpet in Saint Mark's Square with a boat in the background. She is surrounded by her retinue and people, and is being offered presents, underscoring her continuing importance in exile. It has been suggested that Caterina is shown as a rich lady and a tragic heroine, in the same vein as Joan of Arc, the queen of Scotland

¹⁸² "Catalogue" in Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism* (New York, 1995), 339.

¹⁸³ William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (London, 1938), pp.141-142.

¹⁸⁴ Syndikus, "L'immagine di Caterina", 40.

¹⁸⁵ Brandie R. Siegfried " 'Soulified': Cavendish, Rubens and the Cabbalistic Tree of Life" in Brandie R. Siegfried and Lisa T. Sarasohn, eds., *God and Nature in the Thought of Margaret Cavendish* (London, 2014), p.192.

¹⁸⁶ David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden, 2002), p.413.

¹⁸⁷ Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art through the Ages: The Western Perspective*, Vol. II (Wadsworth, 2010), p.554.

Mary Stuart, and the two Queens of England, Anne Boleyn and Lady Jane Grey.¹⁸⁸



Fig. 42 Eugène Boudin, *Caterina Cornaro being received by the Doge of Venice upon her return from Cyprus* (c.1875), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

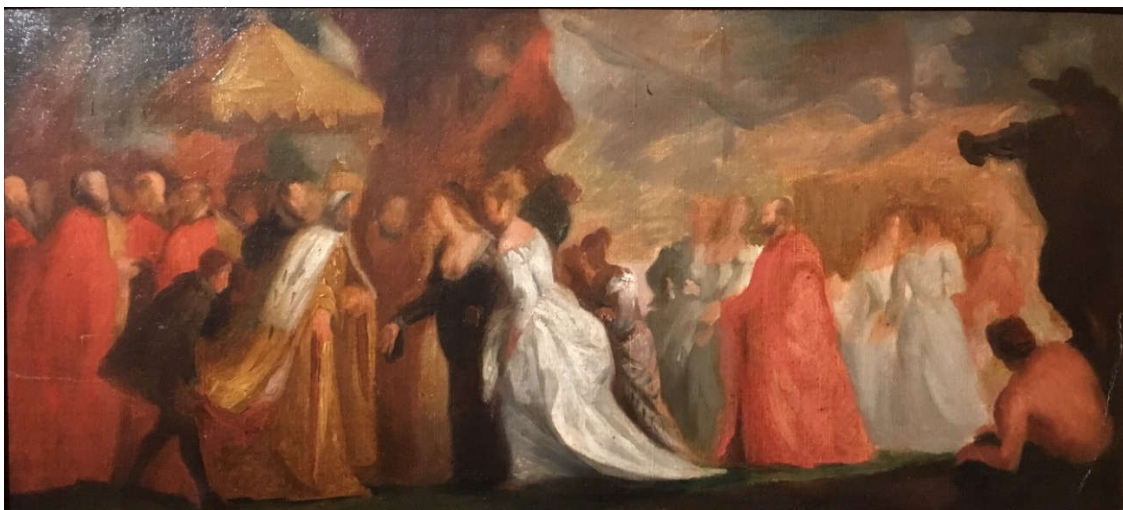


Fig. 43 French School, *Caterina Cornaro handing the Crown of Cyprus to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo* (c.1850), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

¹⁸⁸ Syndikus, "L'immagine di Caterina", 45-46.



Fig. 44 Hans Makart, *Venice pays homage to Caterina Cornaro* (1872-1873), Belvedere Palace, Vienna.



Fig. 45 Ernest J. Preyer, *Venice pays homage to Caterina Cornaro* (1874), Collection of Michael Zeipekkis in the Leventis Municipality Museum, Nicosia.

All the above paintings represent Caterina not as a queen forced to abdicate, but as a queen who willingly handed over the crown to her homeland. They depict the glorious moments of her life, moments that are also connected to Venice's history. The way the figures are depicted in all these paintings is theatrical, as if we are in a theatre watching the triumphal moments of Caterina's life. The scenes include various people, most probably the elite of Venice, adding that these moments also had more gravity, seriousness, and

triumphal dimensions. Apart from the paintings that demonstrate the glorious moments of Caterina, there are also others, reflecting more personal moments. This is more than revealing, as this was the first and only century that this theme was presented in Caterina's portraiture. This suggests that Caterina was recognised not only as a successful queen, but as an ordinary person as well, having everyday habits and reactions. But again, in these representations, Caterina's physical characteristics are avoided.

The first instance belongs to a Venetian artist of historical paintings, Francesco Hayez (1791-1882),¹⁸⁹ who created in 1842 a very ruminative, emotional and theatrical painting called "Deposition of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus" (Fig.45). It is now in Bergamo, in the Carrara Academy, and was commissioned by an eminent man from Bergamo, Antonio Frizzoni.¹⁹⁰ The painting was in turn copied a few times by the same artist, in effect establishing its own iconography.¹⁹¹ Hayez depicts the moment that Giorgio Cornaro tells Caterina that she was no longer the ruling queen. The crowned Caterina, the central person, falls devastated in the chair, emphasising for the first time in a painting the drama of the queen's forced abdication that made Caterina forlorn and emotional. Her dress and appearance are dishevelled with her cross necklace hanging to one side and her clothes not in a neat order. Her dress is not adorned with pearls and precious stones, though she is wearing pearls on her necklace and bracelets. Behind her are three ladies of her retinue who appear sad and concerned. In the background there is a view out of a window with a white flag waving in the distance, which adds to the symbolism of her deposition.

The second example is by Ferdinand Pauwels (1830-1904), a history painter from Belgium and professor in the School of Fine Arts in Weimar.¹⁹² He depicted Caterina praying inside St. Mark's Basilica, (Fig.46) now in the Costas & Rita Severis Collection. The scene represents the first moments of Caterina's

¹⁸⁹ Giuseppe Verdi, *A Research and Information Guide: Second Edition* (New York, 2012), p.42.

¹⁹⁰ Syndikus, "L'immagine di Caterina", 46; Fernando Mazzocca, *Francesco Hayez: Catalogo Ragionato* (Milan, 1994), 276.

¹⁹¹ Francesco Rossi (Profile Writer) in Marina Vryonidou and Loukia Hadjigaviel, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: the last Queen of Cyprus 1473-1489* (Nicosia, 1995), 142-143.

¹⁹² Ivan Tourguénev, *Lettres inédites de Tourguénev à Pauline Viardot et sa famille* (Lausanne, 1972), p.252.

return in Venice. Caterina is depicted facing the altar in profile with the crown and veil on her head and clasping a bible or prayer book. Like her crown, her clothes are embellished with precious stones emphasising her royalty. Behind her are two ladies of her retinue with one of them looking at the viewer in a forlorn manner. On the lower step there is a boy carrying a cushion. Considering other paintings described previously, whereby a boy is carrying the crown on a cushion, the subject might be the same here. This is possibly the cushion that is going to be used to carry the crown. If that is the case, Caterina is presented here praying before handing the crown to the doge. The two representations above show that, although Caterina was glorified for leaving Cyprus to Venice, she was nevertheless pained to do so. As the coin has two sides, so Caterina had a public and a private image. The public one presents the triumphal side of her, while the private side focuses on her modest life and attitude.



Fig. 46 Francesco Hayez, *Deposition of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* (1842), Carrara Academy, Bergamo.



Fig. 47 Ferdinand Pauwels, *Queen Caterina Cornaro in the Basilica of Saint Mark* (nineteenth century), Costas and Rita Severis Collection, Nicosia.

Aside from these paintings, there are also illustrations of Caterina in an album with sketches related to the two-volume-sources “Storia Veneta” produced by the Venetian author and art historian Francesco Zanotto (1794-1863).¹⁹³ The work includes 150 illustrations of Giuseppe Gatteri (1829-1884), an artist remembered for being among the best illustrators of historical romance.¹⁹⁴ Gatteri created the illustrations in 1852¹⁹⁵ and were mainly engraved by Antonio Viviani (1797-1854),¹⁹⁶ and the source was published in Venice and reprinted in 1867.¹⁹⁷ The very inclusion of Caterina in the album, it should be added, is a testament to her abiding importance in Venetian history.

¹⁹³ Full title: *Storia Veneta espressa in centocinquanta tavole inventate e disegnate da Giuseppe Gatteri, secondo i vari costumi, incise da Antonio Viviani ed altri artisti Veneziani, descritte ed illustrate da Francesco Zanotto socio di varie accademie, ec.* Opera accettata da S. M. il Re d'Italia Vittorio Emanuele II.

¹⁹⁴ Patrizia Fasolato, “Giuseppe Gatteri” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 52 (1999).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Maria Elisa Tittoni, ed., *Il Risorgimento a colori: pittori, patrioti e patrioti pittori nella Roma del XIX secolo* (Rome, 2000), p.223.

¹⁹⁷ Patrizia Fasolato, “Giuseppe Gatteri” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 52 (1999).

Zanotto's book includes three illustrations of Caterina Cornaro,¹⁹⁸ the first showing the 1468 wedding by proxy (Fig.47), with the doge between Caterina and Jacques's representative as Caterina was the adopted child of Venice. There are many people in the audience watching the ceremony. The second illustration depicts Jacques II passing and commending in 1473 the kingdom and his wife Caterina Cornaro to Venice (Fig.48). He is surrounded by his wife and various people in what is depicted as a sad moment. Caterina is seen sitting beside the king holding his hand. The third illustration shows Caterina Cornaro giving Cyprus to Venice in June 1489 (Fig.49). Caterina has disembarked the Bucentaur and is surrounded by her retinue. In front of her again there is a boy holding the crown placed up on a cushion, and again there are many people in attendance to see her arrival. The figures of all the illustrations are placed in theatrical way, so they can all be seen by the viewers. This focus on Caterina Cornaro, being illustrated three times in a book presenting the history of Venice, was a testament to her continuing importance, three centuries after her death. As for the subjects illustrated here in a book dedicated to the republic, they also serve to record important moments for Venetian history as well.

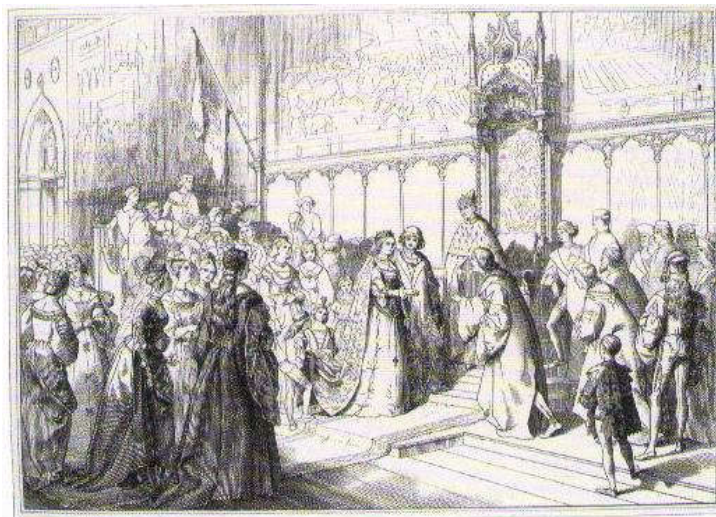


Fig. 48 Giuseppe Gatteri, *Caterina Cornaro marries by proxy Jacques II, King of Cyprus* (1852), *Storia Veneta* of Francesco Zanotto.

¹⁹⁸ Francesco Zanotto, *Storia Veneta espressa in centocinquanta taVole inventate e diseguate da Giuseppe Gatteri, secondo i varii costumi, incise da Antonio Viviani ed altri artisti Veneziani, descritte ed illustrate da Francesco Zanotto socio di varie accademie, ec. Opera accettata da S. M. il Re d'Italia Vittorio Emanuele II* (Venice, 1867), unpaginated.

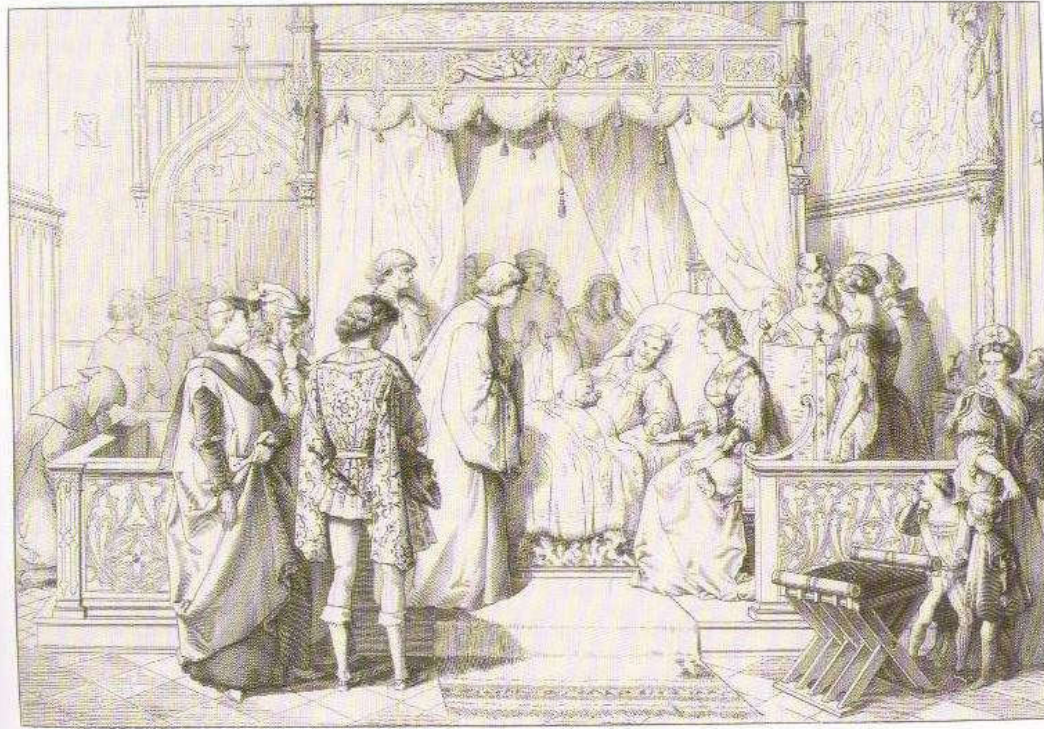


Fig. 49 Giuseppe Gatteri, *The death of the last King of Cyprus, Jacques II* (1842), *Storia Veneta* of Francesco Zanotto.

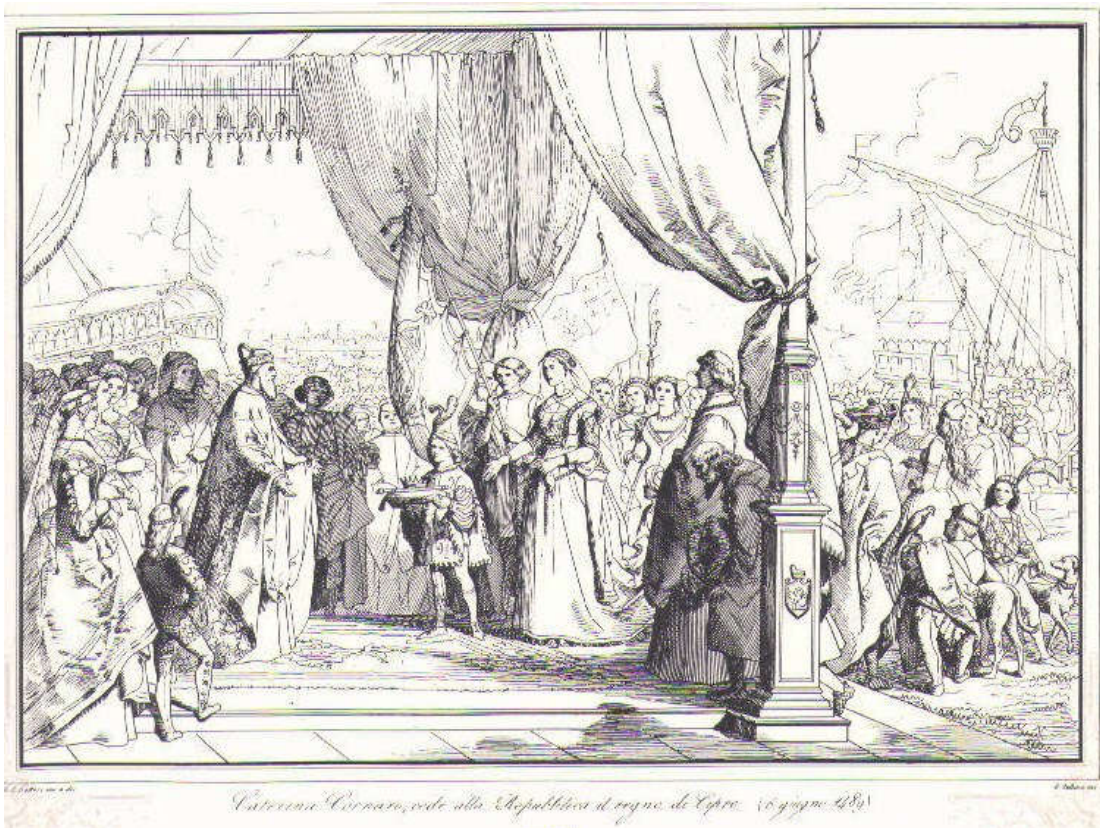


Fig. 50 Giuseppe Gatteri, *Caterina Cornaro hands over the Crown of Cyprus to the Doge Agostino Barbarigo in 1489* (1842), *Storia Veneta* of Francesco Zanotto.

Aside from these visual representations, the nineteenth century also witnessed a new series of written works, both private and public, which accentuated Caterina's images. The first example, a book entitled "La Regina Catterina Cornaro", was written by Francesco Zanotto, the Venetian historian of "Storia Veneta". The second source was by the advocate Girolamo Florio,¹⁹⁹ entitled "La Regina di Cipro" and published in 1838. The third source is by Giuseppe Emo, author in 1843 of a tragedy entitled "Caterina Cornelia regina di Cipro", a text that was reprinted in 1846 Turin, 1848 in Lisbon, 1854 in Buenos Aires, and 1858 in Rio de Janeiro.²⁰⁰ The fourth source, "Caterina Cornaro e il suo regno," was written by the journalist Attilio Centelli (1855-1915), and published in 1862.²⁰¹ He spent time researching in archives,²⁰² and he became the first director (1899-1915) of an Italian newspaper, "La Domenica del corriere", a position that he kept until his death.²⁰³ The last source was written by Antonio Pivetta from Asolo (1794-1887), the author of various novels, poems and sonnets, including the "Storia della Antica Città di Asolo e la Storia di Caterina Cornaro Regina di Cipro e quindi Signora di Asolo".

Each of these five sources does not focus on the same aspects of Caterina's life, but rather on different moments and episodes. They also describe aspects of the private life of the queen not depicted in paintings. To start with, Girolamo Florio's work is the closest of the five to an historically accurate life of Caterina; she is not glossed as a glorified medieval heroine queen, but as a woman who lived with considerable challenges, but who died honourably in peace.²⁰⁴ The suggestion that Caterina's life was not in reality ideal was also taken-up by Zanotto, who presented some of the most important events of her life, such as the donation of Cyprus to the republic,²⁰⁵ but he also mentioned that her life in Venice was spent mainly in the confines of her

¹⁹⁹ Luigi Mariotti, *Present State and Prospects of Italy* (London, 1848), p.146.

²⁰⁰ Perocco, "biografia e mito", 44.

²⁰¹ Giovanna Ginex, *The monumental Cemetery of Milan* (Silvana, 1996), p.125.

²⁰² Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder: Beyond the Song-Cycles* (Cambridge, 2002), p.124.

²⁰³ Roberta Pagotto, "La Domenica del Corriere", Part 1, Saturday 8 November 2008, thrillermagazine.it

²⁰⁴ Girolamo Florio, *La Regina di Cipro: Romanzo Storico* (Mantua, 1838), p.180.

²⁰⁵ Francesco Zanotto, *La Regina Catterina Cornaro* (Venice, 1840), p.8.

house.²⁰⁶ So, these two authors reflected on both the positive and negative aspects of Caterina's real life.

Emo, Centeli and Pivetta, by some contrast, used their imagination to write their stories based on Caterina's feelings and inner world. Emo's tragedy focused on the years of Cyprus and starts in the Lusignan palace of Famagusta, with a dramatic imaginary dialogue between uncle Andrea and brother Giorgio, who just arrived in Cyprus in order to convince his sister to leave her throne.²⁰⁷ Centeli and Pivetta presented Caterina in a mythical light glorifying the queen and completely airbrushing her incapacities, and the extent to which she was controlled by Venice. Centelli, for example, began his narration by saying that Caterina ranked amongst the most famous women of her time and she was able to make the right decisions on many crucial occasions. It was for these reasons as he wrote, that many princes, painters and poets commissioned and created pieces of art related to her life.²⁰⁸

Furthermore, in Pivetta's source, Caterina is presented as a glorious queen, and a heroine, underlining that her name would never be forgotten.²⁰⁹ It is one of the most significant sources in the understanding of the triumphal side of the queen, as all the comments he includes eulogise Caterina's life related to the history of Venice, and the help she had from her motherland.²¹⁰ Pivetta did not aim to give an overall and systematic presentation of Caterina's life as a queen and then queen in exile. Although he included various details, he chose to present her as an ideal queen underlining mainly the significant episodes from her life, suggesting that despite Caterina being in exile, she never lost her sovereign status, not even in death. Therefore, the source of Pivetta is a celebration of Caterina's glorious moments as a queen in exile, moments that were also connected to the history of Venice. To start with, her arrival in Venice was impressive, with music, celebrations, gondolas and Doge Agostino

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p.6.

²⁰⁷ Giuseppe Emo, *Caterina Cornelia Regina di Cipro* (Venice, 1843) in Giovanni Rossi, ed., *Miscellanea Veneta* (Venice, 1852), 9-10.

²⁰⁸ Attilio Centelli, *Caterina Cornaro e il suo regno* (Venezia, 1892), p.7.

²⁰⁹ AMA AP, 282.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 215-234.

Barbarigo, along with senators, inside the Bucentaur.²¹¹ Caterina was called “queen” by the doge²¹² and she was given a new state, that of Asolo as compensation,²¹³ so she was not harmed by Venice. On her arrival there, people enthusiastically received Caterina as Lady and Dominatrix of Asolo.²¹⁴ Also, in Asolo she maintained her court, which had various members from the old court of Cyprus, from Venice and Asolo itself.²¹⁵ Her trip to Brescia was depicted as a formal celebration, a public acceptance, while she was welcomed in Rezzato by 200 horsemen.²¹⁶ Even when she died in Venice, her body was placed in Santi Apostoli and the tomb was inscribed “Catherina Cornelia, Domina Veneta, ex. Regina Ciprii et Domina Aceli”.²¹⁷

Apart from the five prose pieces dedicated to Caterina, there is also a sonnet dedicated to her, entitled “Sonetto di Caterina Cornaro”²¹⁸ and composed by Gaetano Nava (1802-1875).²¹⁹ The poet expressing his inner world and using his fantasy, glorified Caterina by writing about her story and placing her amongst historical figures who themselves had inspired sonnet poets - Caterina is presented as a romantic heroine whose story will never be forgotten. The sonnet presents Caterina as having “a charming appearance” [leggiadrio aspetto] and “a gentle smile” [gentile sorriso], just as she was depicted in the paintings. Furthermore, her character is “powerful and gentle” [possente e suave]. As a queen who acquired mythical status, Caterina is not a dead queen but still alive. She was “kidnapped in paradise, in paradise” [rapida in paradise, in paradise], enjoying in this way, the eternal life, there, “more blessed in heaven would live, would live” [più beata che in ciel io mi vivrei, io mi vivrei].²²⁰ Thus, Caterina is enthroned not only when she was ruling Cyprus and then in exile, where in the eyes of her compatriots she remained a queen; but also in heaven, so she will be enthroned for ever.

²¹¹ Ibid., 280-281.

²¹² Ibid., 291.

²¹³ Ibid., 281-282.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 298.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 287, 318-321.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 365-366.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 427.

²¹⁸ Gaetano Nava, *Sonetto di Caterina Cornaro* (Milan, 1840).

²¹⁹ Maria Dell'Ara, *Editori di musica a Torino e in Piemonte: Biografie* (Turin, 1999), p.751.

²²⁰ Nava, *Sonetto*.

The variety of media about Caterina increased further during the nineteenth century, when five operas dedicated to her were written and performed. In the late eighteenth century, there were few public opera theatres across Europe, as the audiences were mainly elite. However, by the end of the late nineteenth century, the majority of the European cities had theatres where operas were performed, to audiences of the middle classes.²²¹ In the nineteenth century, romantic opera flourished with melodramatic plots inspired by either historical or fictional characters, while the subject's medieval background could be set in exotic places and might have rebellious protagonists.²²² Caterina was in this genre. As operas had cultural significance and social importance, it was an honour for Caterina to be ranked alongside other queens whose lives had inspired established composers. The French Grand Operas of the early nineteenth century, with their interest in history, political messages and moral questions, influenced Italian operas.²²³ Even recent history could be the subject of opera: after Napoleon's fall and death, his myth during the 1830s and 1840s was used for strengthening the French patriotism and for supporting the expansionistic plans of King Louis Philippe (r. 1830-1848), and used also to dramatise the corruption and fall of the Venetian Republic.²²⁴ It was during this same period, in the Italian Peninsula, that ideas about nationalistic aspirations started appearing, not least through Verdi,²²⁵ who presented Venice as a despotic city, in contrast to Donizetti and Rossini who had avoided that theme.²²⁶

Donizetti probably had good reason to avoid a potentially controversial theme, given that he had support from the ruling elites. We can see this, for example, in "Lucrezia Borgia", which premiered in Naples in December 1833 with 33 performances²²⁷, and which subsequently opened Venice's Carnival

²²¹ Philipp Ther, *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe* (West Lafayette, 2014), p.1.

²²² Williams, *Wagner*, p.24.

²²³ Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Caterina Cornaro goes to the Opera" in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 399.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

²²⁵ William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge, 1982), p.67.

²²⁶ Nicolaou-Konnari, "Opera", 399.

²²⁷ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.81.

season in Teatro La Fenice.²²⁸ Napoleon's widow, Marie-Louise, was in the audience.²²⁹ When his opera "Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth" was performed in San Carlo in July 1829, the audience included the king of Naples, Francesco, and his queen, Isabella Maria, along with the king of Sardinia, Carlo Felice, and his wife Queen Maria Cristina.²³⁰ It can also be mentioned, that in one case, an opera of Donizetti was cancelled. "Maria Stuarda" was to be presented in Naples, but before the premiere the king prohibited it, as his wife Maria Cristina was a direct descendant of Mary Stuart.²³¹ As Donizetti wrote "It was prohibited! How? Why? The Queen [Maria Cristina] does not like such sad subjects."²³² He had to be careful about what he was presenting to the audience.

We might note that the operas about Caterina, created in 1840s by successful composers and presented in some of Europe's leading cities - Paris, Munich, London, Turin and Naples - is itself a testament to the old queen of Cyprus. Her story (however removed from its historical context) via opera, this effective medium of emotion, was explored probably for the first time utilising techniques of narration, stagecraft and music. Moreover, the operas brought her story (however constructed) to new audiences from different social classes who in all likelihood did not know anything about Caterina's life beforehand. In this way, it can be argued that the operas helped in the revival of Caterina's story in the nineteenth century.

Some words are necessary about the contexts of these five operas dedicated to Caterina. The authors of the operas include French playwright Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges (1799-1875),²³³ "one of the most prolific librettists of his time", responsible for more than 100 operas.²³⁴ In 1841, he wrote a tragedy in French about Caterina expressing his patriotism. As he wrote

²²⁸ Herbert Weinstock, *Donizetti and the World of Opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1964), pp.94-95.

²²⁹ Ibid., p.95.

²³⁰ Ibid, pp.66-67.

²³¹ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.87.

²³² Weinstock, *Donizetti*, p.101.

²³³ François Verschaeve, *What's what in Titles of Classical Music...and beyond: A Dictionary of Titles* (Waterdown Ontario, 2008), p.514.

²³⁴ Nicolaou-Konnari, "Opera", 389-390.

himself, before writing his libretto, he had already studied two sources. The older one “Mémoires historiques et politiques sur la République de Venise” was written by the Venetian Leopoldo Curti 1795-6, an administrator who wrote about the corrupting institutions of his city, and whose was published in Paris.²³⁵ The second source, “Histoire de la République de Venise”, was written in 1819, by Pierre Daru, who served as an army commissary for Napoleon, and who similarly underlined the amorality of the Venetian elite and the obselet and tyrannical system of the republic.²³⁶ That theme, we might note, had already been a trope of French writers beforehand, including Montesquieu.²³⁷ Daru underlined that Venice was trying to conquer Cyprus since Jacques II was reigning and that was the reason he was poisoned by Venice. The Venetian authorities in Cyprus were acting like satraps reflecting the amoral system of Venice. Caterina was a victim of Venice.²³⁸

Saint-Georges sold his libretto twice, in two different forms. Both the works were presented in December 1841 by Fromental Halévy and Franz Lachner.²³⁹ Halévy (1799-1862), was a French composer of the nascent French school, and his political ideas and social class are more than evident in his operas of the 1830s; his works of the 1840s more strongly explore his concerns about the monarchy; during the 1850’s his attention focused more on religion.²⁴⁰ He composed thirty three operas, six of which were for the Grand Opera, and his opera about Caterina Cornaro was the only one dedicated to a queen. Halévy composed his opera “La Reine de Chypre” with the original libretto of Saint-Georges,²⁴¹ and it opened at the Paris Opera on 22 December 1841.²⁴² The audience comprised Parisian aristocrats and upper bourgeoisie who, so it

²³⁵ Ibid., “393-394, 396.

²³⁶ Ibid., 393-394.

²³⁷ Ibid., “Opera”, 394.

²³⁸ Ibid., 396.

²³⁹ Ibid., 388; Arnold Jacobshagen, “Staging the Queen-French grand opéra and five operatic portraits of Caterina Cornaro” in Candida Syndikus and Sabine Rogge, eds., *Caterina Cornaro: Last Queen of Cyprus and Daughter of Venice / Ultima regina di Cipro e figlia di Venezia* (Münster, 2013), 367 .

²⁴⁰ Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 399.

²⁴¹ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388.

²⁴² Berruti, *Patrizio*, p.113; Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388.

has been said, “demanded extraordinarily splendid spectacles of highest artistic standards”.²⁴³

French opera also began to exert a wider influence elsewhere in Europe as we can see in the case of the Bavarian composer Franz Lachner (1803-1890),²⁴⁴ who composed four operas, one of which took Caterina as its subject.²⁴⁵ For this opera he used a translated libretto in German, written by Alois Joseph Büssel, with the title “Catharina Cornaro Königin von Cypern”, and was presented at the Royal Munich Bavarian Opera House in December 1841.²⁴⁶ The audience had the same status as the one in Paris, but the scale was smaller.²⁴⁷

Apart from the two original compositions, there were three more, two for audiences in Italy and one for England. The Irish composer of 29 operas William Balfe (1808-1870), who was amongst the most successful composers of opera in nineteenth century England,²⁴⁸ presented in November 1844 in London’s Drury Lane Theatre²⁴⁹ his composition called “The Daughter of Saint Mark” with an English text by Alfred Bunn.²⁵⁰ After its performance in Drury Lane, there were performances in Munich, and five in Berlin.²⁵¹ It can be added that the librettist Alfred Bunn and the composer Julius Benedict presented another opera with a similar story, in the same English theatre, some months earlier, called “The Brides of Venice”.²⁵² The Sicilian composer of almost ninety operas Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867)²⁵³ wrote a composition about the queen called “La regina di Cipro”, with a libretto by Francesco Guidi.²⁵⁴ It was

²⁴³ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367.

²⁴⁴ Susan Youens, *Heinrich Heine and the Lied* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.91-92.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.349-350.

²⁴⁶ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367; Berruti, *Patrizio*, p.113; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388; Perocco, “biografia e mito”, 46.

²⁴⁷ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367.

²⁴⁸ Sally Mitchell, ed., *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2011), 60.

²⁴⁹ Albert R. Rice, *From the Clarinet d’Amour to the Contra Bass: A History of Large Size Clarinets, 1740-1860* (Oxford, 2009), p.367.

²⁵⁰ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388; Perocco, “biografia e mito”, 46.

²⁵¹ Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 409.

²⁵² William Tuldlesley, *Michael William Balfe: His life and his English Operas* (London, 2016), p.408.

²⁵³ Stephen A. Willier, *Vincenzo Bellini: A Research and Information Guide* (London, 2009), p.234.

²⁵⁴ Francesco Guidi, *La Regina di Cipro: Dramma (Musica del Maestro Pacini)* (Milan, 1846), p.1; Donizetti, *Caterina, Tragedia*, 5, 9-10.

successfully presented in 1846 in Turin in the *Teatro Regio*,²⁵⁵ before moving on, and between 1846 and 1854, it was performed in Ferrara, Naples, Padua, Sanigallia, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires.²⁵⁶

Finally, and most famously, the Italian composer, Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) wrote an opera which premiered in the theatre of San Carlo of Naples in January 1844²⁵⁷ with lyrics by Gaetano Sacchero.²⁵⁸ Indeed, this work was “the only one of the five operas that has been entirely recorded”.²⁵⁹ Donizetti first learned about Caterina Cornaro in the Toto Vasselli library in Rome, prompting him to seek the text of Saint Georges.²⁶⁰ He started working on “Caterina Cornaro” in October 1842, with the intention of opening in Vienna.²⁶¹ When he was about to finish his opera, he learned that Lachner was going to present the same opera in Vienna. He had already presented in Munich where the premiere was in December 1481.²⁶² Donizetti was, understandably, put out, writing to Ricordi “My poor Regina di Cipro. I lavished care on it and I believed it was not going badly. It might be for La Scala if Merelli would want it”.²⁶³ Soon after Donizetti learned that, he was also informed that Halevy would present his work in Paris in the original French libretto of Halevy, so he postponed the presentation of his version²⁶⁴ and focused on another opera, “Don Sebastien”, which premiered in November 1843.²⁶⁵ In Vienna instead of Caterina, Donizetti presented “Maria di Rohan” in June 1843.²⁶⁶ “Caterina Cornaro” was firstly played in Naples in January 1844,²⁶⁷ and in Parma in 1845.²⁶⁸

²⁵⁵ Jacobshagen, “Staging”, 367; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388.

²⁵⁶ Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 427-428..

²⁵⁷ William Ashbrook, “Donizetti and Romani”, *Italica*, Vol. 66, No. 4 (1987), 608, 629; Berruti, Patrizio, 113; Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 388.

²⁵⁸ Lorenzo Fietta, “Catterina Corner del dott. Enrico Simonsfeld”, *Archivio Veneto*, 21 (1881), 53; Perocco, “biografia e mito”, 46.

²⁵⁹ Nicolaou-Konnari, “Opera”, 421-422.

²⁶⁰ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.180.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.180-181.

²⁶² Weinstock, *Donizetti*, p.187.

²⁶³ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.181.

²⁶⁴ Weinstock, *Donizetti*, p.187.

²⁶⁵ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.182.

²⁶⁶ Osborne, *Bel Canto*, p.293.

²⁶⁷ Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, p.183.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.183.

The libretto of Donizetti's "Caterina Cornaro" starts with a prologue, the planning of a wedding between Caterina and Geraldo, a young Frenchman, both in love and happy for the forthcoming wedding.²⁶⁹ However, on the way to the church, it was announced by a masked man to Caterina's father (mentioned as Andrea instead of Marco) that the wedding must be cancelled immediately, following a decision by the Council of Ten.²⁷⁰ The ambassador of Venice, Mocenigo, was beneath the mask, who said that the plan was for Caterina to marry another man, the exiled king of Cyprus, Jacques II, mentioned as Lusignano. By default the wedding would provide Lusignano asylum. Mocenigo informed Andrea that he had to choose between a crown for his daughter or someone's death.²⁷¹ Caterina did not want to cancel her wedding to Geraldo, but speaking to Mocenigo, he convinced her to break up with him, otherwise he would be found dead.²⁷² So, Caterina decided to lie to him saying that she was not in love with him any more.²⁷³ The opera was clearly playing loose with historical facts, but Donizetti's overarching message reiterated an established set of messages about Caterina of being controlled by Venice for the republic's own benefit.

Act One combines historical narrative with fiction, giving a dramatic tone to the narration and a romantic ending as Caterina finds happiness and justice. In the opera, Lusignano confesses to a knight that the Venetian authorities had ruined his kingdom and wanted to remove him from his throne.²⁷⁴ Further on, Lusignano saves Gerardo from the Venetian authorities, without knowing who this man was. When he told him that he was the king of Cyprus, Gerardo asked for forgiveness and mentions that he was heartbroken.²⁷⁵ Then, Jacques told him of the problems between him and the republic.²⁷⁶ Gerardo swears to be faithful to him²⁷⁷ and Jacques replies that if he manages to find a solution to his

²⁶⁹ Donizetti, *Caterina, Tragedia*, 16.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 35-37.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

problems, he and Caterina would no longer be his victims.²⁷⁸ In another scene, Mocenigo informs Caterina that Venice was planning to betray Jacques, and to make Caterina the sole ruler and then to accuse her of poisoning her husband.²⁷⁹ Lusignano heard this and says that he would defend his wife.²⁸⁰ Actually, he was ready to fight Venice, with both his wife and Gerard by his side.²⁸¹ Despite the fact that in the first act Caterina was not really in the spotlight as the protagonists were the three men, here she is the focal point. In act two of the libretto, Gerardo and the locals (chorus) are ready for the fight.²⁸² The battle ends positively for Lusignano. The island is freed from the Venetians and the king is free to rule on his own.²⁸³ But, Lusignano dies while talking to Gerardo and Caterina, having been injured seriously in the battle.²⁸⁴ In his last moments, he asks Gerardo to take care of his people.²⁸⁵ After his death the people of Cyprus swear faith to Caterina as a sole ruler.²⁸⁶

In this libretto, Caterina was presented differently to the other works dedicated to her. She was a woman in love with a man, Gerardo, but had to cancel their wedding and marry Jacques to save Gerardo's life. In this romantic story Caterina, Gerardo and Jacques are presented as victims of the republic. Their lives are ruined, but they decide to act, fight and take their lives back. Caterina could rule the island herself, having her love by her side. In reality, as we have seen, Caterina lost both her kingdom and a chance to marry again, but here she gets both of them back. It is as if justice is restored and she is given a chance to live her life as she wished. Caterina has the profile of the happy queen who was never exiled. However, it should be explained that Caterina was not the only queen presented differently in the operas from the real life. The same was the case with other operas by Donizetti, notably Elizabeth ("Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth", 1829), Anne Boleyn ("Anna Bolena",

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 39.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 44-45.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 45.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 47.

²⁸² Ibid., 49.

²⁸³ Ibid., 51.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 51-52.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 52.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 53.

1830), Mary Stuart ("Maria Stuarda", 1835) and to the duchess Lucrezia Borgia ("Lucrezia Borgia", 1833).

Looking at the information above, it can be said that as the nineteenth century sources would have us believe, Caterina sat on her throne again in a triumphal way, the subject of paintings, literature and operas. Despite the decline, and eventual disappearance of Venice, Caterina's image withstood the test of time. During this century, when the republic was finally subsumed into a newly unified Italian state, ironically under the authority of Savoy, the largest number of images of Caterina were created. She also made her appearance in the world of opera - the corollary, we should add, was that Charlotte's image almost entirely receded for good. However, Caterina, the pawn of the old state, Venice, had a triumphal romantic image demonstrating how her identity had transcended its historical context as a heroic figure cast in terms understood by nineteenth century audiences.

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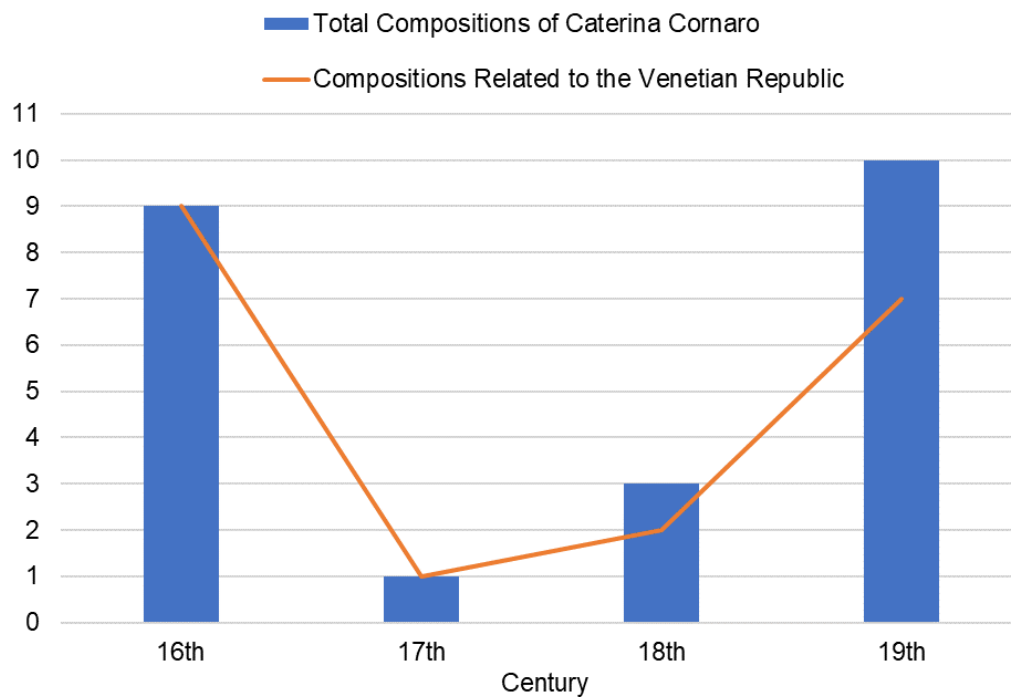
In conclusion, in the last section of this thesis, the various written and visual sources have been analysed and presented as primary sources and have provided us with different perspectives of the images of Charlotte, and Caterina in particular. These sources help in the understanding of how these two queens were presented during their lives and how they were remembered across a long period, into the nineteenth century. Chronicles and biographies provide us with foundational knowledge about the two queens highlighting certain facts and characteristics, as well as the environments in which they lived in Cyprus and in exile. The poems dedicated to Caterina, as well as the comedy, the tragedy and the opera are influenced by the historical background of the queen, but are full of emotional dimensions and symbolic meanings mainly glorifying her life. As for the visual representations of the two queens, they do have historical references, and the scenes created for us and the messages that the artists wanted to provide, are immediate and accessible to us as viewers. Paintings as an illusion of reality, glorify, for example, Caterina for sending the crown of Cyprus to

Venice. At the same time, Charlotte is presented as a good Christian that her story has a remarkable place in the Vatican palace.

It can now be said that the two queens, who lived parallel lives and whose stories had similar trajectories, did not have the same imagery. Charlotte is represented in Cypriot chronicles as unfortunate and sinful, legitimate but fundamentally weakened by her gender. However, being in exile, she never gave up. In the few Italian sources, the only written source dedicated to her dates from the seventeenth century, when the “battle” between Savoy and Venice over the crown of Cyprus was at its peak, so this is probably connected with the Savoyard-Venetian power politics. Also, there are only a few visual sources that are dedicated to Charlotte, a portrait in a manuscript and the three compositions that can be seen in the Vatican palace. Although the sources are few in number, they are still helpful in the analysis of Charlotte’s image. The fact that all three compositions of her are in the Vatican showing her as a good Christian, as an exiled queen surrounded by politically important people, can clearly suggest that so far as the papacy was concerned, Charlotte was always a queen. Also, it suggests that in spite of the Savoyard-Venetian “battle” over the royal title of Cyprus, probably no visual representation was created dedicated to her by Savoy. It seems that the duchy only wanted to benefit from her royal title, with no interest in commission paintings glorifying the queen who donated her royal title to the duchy.

Regarding Caterina, the Cypriot sources emphasise her lineage as a member of the Cornaro family, and as adopted Daughter of Venice. But, in spite of being protected by Venice in Cyprus, she was also isolated by her motherland as the Venetian authorities did not want her to re-marry. In these terms, the contrast with Charlotte is evident as unlike Charlotte, who, when she was in exile, tried to find a way to retake her kingdom, Caterina is presented as obedient to her family and to Venice. In contrast to Charlotte, there are also a significant number of mainly Italian sources dedicated to Caterina after her death and until the nineteenth century. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, there are seventeen portraits of her, where her constructed image focuses partially on her modest side.

With exception of the seventeen portraits, there are also twenty-three multifaced compositions, where Caterina is the main figure. However, nineteen of these twenty-three images demonstrate her triumphal side in relation to Venice, as they show Caterina getting married, departing from Venice, arriving in Cyprus, leaving Cyprus and returning to Venice while handing the crown of Cyprus to the doge. Evidently, Venice is glorified indirectly too - praise for the queen is also praise for Venice. Focusing in general on the compositions that are related to the history of Venice [see chart], it is understandable that the majority date from the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was during the sixteenth century that Venice had Cyprus under its control, and the relatively large number of portraits from this period might be connected to this political reality, and of course to the relatives of the queen. Her image in the nineteenth century is even more important as Venice fell from 1797. That image was no longer controlled or guided by a republic that, in any case, had ceased to exist. Her identity was in effect, liberated from her motherland and the “battle” with Savoy; she was, moreover, transformed into an archetypal heroine, in stark contrast to Charlotte whose story inspired neither artists nor writers. Caterina’s story inspired many artists and authors who created works mainly emphasising the old heroine that made her compatriots proud by donating her crown to her motherland. The highlight of Caterina’s image was the creation of the five-scene opera that played not only in Italy but also in Germany, France and England as well. Caterina’s life, story and image were significant enough to be remembered by posterity across Europe.



Comparing Charlotte's image to that of Caterina across a period of nearly four centuries, it is firstly understandable that both queens have more visual sources dedicated to them than written sources. Starting with Charlotte, there are sources for her only from the fifteenth and the seventeenth century. Her story in the later centuries did not inspire artists and writers, as if she did not rank alongside women who reappeared as heroines in literature and art. What is more, Charlotte is not depicted in any surviving paintings from Savoy, while there are many paintings of Caterina in Venice, Asolo and elsewhere, presenting variously her modest profile, aspects of her life, or a triumphal side of the queen. Also, there are various surviving written sources dedicated to her in each century suggesting that her story, unlike Charlotte's, remained alive. It should be noted, in contrast to Charlotte, that there are seven written and thirteen visual sources dedicated to Caterina, in which she is eulogized as a glorious queen. Her case can be contextualised amongst those elite women whose story inspired many artists and writers in the nineteenth century, such as Lucrezia Borgia, Anne Boleyn, Mary Stuart and Elizabeth I.

Conclusion

This thesis has been a comparative study of the two fifteenth-century-queens of Cyprus, Charlotte of Lusignan and Caterina Cornaro, exploring their lives and posthumous identities. Both Charlotte and Caterina ruled as queens regnant and then faced exile. Their cases are placed in a wider context of early modern queens, especially queens regnant and queens in exile. Their cases are important as female princes were even rarer in eastern Mediterranean, and the first and only queen regnant in Lusignan Cyprus. The absence of local background in female princes made the rulership for the two queens more challenging. Living in a male-dominated world, queens regnant were relatively rare, especially in the fifteenth century, when the majority of the ruling queens were queen consorts, queen regents and queen mothers, mainly influencing and supporting kings, or governing in the names of male rulers. Besides, it was largely felt that male rulers still had axiomatic superiority and capacity as they were considered prudent and experienced in warfare, characteristics that Aristotle had underlined centuries before. Thus, the queens can be contrasted with the pieces of a chessboard. As they had limited power and political agency in early modern contexts, they were more akin with the pawns and did not have the superiority and dynamism associated with the queen on a chess board. The two queens of Cyprus, during their lives, both were pawns of political interests in the eastern Mediterranean in relation to Egypt and the Ottomans, and in relation to the competing political interests in Rome, Venice and Savoy.

Charlotte, the *de iuris* queen regnant of pure royal blood, was raised to become queen, but the training of her parents was not enough for her to face

serious problems from the beginning of her rulership. She had to prove immediately in practice that she was prudent and capable in diplomatic conversations, political games and military affairs as her illegitimate brother wanted her throne. Despite her gender, her lack of experience in warfare and her young age, she did not hesitate to involve in warfare against Jacques. However, Jacques acted fast inside and outside Cyprus expressing his prudence and experience in warfare. He mobilised the majority of locals and the support of the sultan of Egypt, for whom gender did matter, especially because he needed a strong and trustful leader in Cyprus. Charlotte was a woman - which could be risky as the times were difficult – and she was married to a Latin Christian (French) husband in a time when crusades against the sultan of Egypt were still a possibility. Thus, gender, choice of husband, lack of political skills and military wisdom in an area of strategic and commercial interest for Ottomans, Mamluks and Italian states, caused the loss of the throne. In her case, gender was more important than rank. In exile, Charlotte negotiated military issues and gained support to return as a queen in Cyprus. Exiled by coercion, she matured and became a determined regnant exiled queen gaining respect, support and allies; she would do everything to take back her kingdom, supported by two popes, Pius II and Sixtus IV, and the support and royal recognition of various rulers, and military help from Savoy. Being a queen regnant in exile, Charlotte had a wedding offer from king Ferdinando of Naples for his illegitimate son, as he was planning to send her back as a queen in Cyprus. However, she never managed to return, but she died in Rome as a queen in exile and that is how she was buried, proving that she never lost her sovereign status, not even in death.

As for Caterina, her parallel story had similarities but was also very different at the same time. She arrived as consort queen married to Jacques II, and after his death she became for a year regent queen governing in the name of her son and then she became a queen regnant at a very young age. She lacked a princely background, skills and experience in a patriarchic society where some years earlier the *de jure* Charlotte failed to keep her kingdom. Despite all these disadvantages, she lasted from 1474-1489 with support and counsel from her family (mainly father, brother, mother, Giorgio Contarini, Pietro

Bembo) and Venice. While she was the queen in Cyprus, she was surrounded by Venetians, who ruled in her name under the orders of Venice. This situation made the island a “Venetian protectorate” as the two counsellors and the provveditore subordinated the powers of the local authorities. On one side, the situation might have made Caterina look like a weak sole ruler. However, at the same time, Caterina having the great Venetian support by her side managed to remain on the throne for fifteen years, in times that the independence of the island could be at risk. This could be a sign of prudence. Besides, she complained to Venice when she felt the need to. There is evidence that she refused to depart in 1487 when Venice decided to incorporate the island and she tried to negotiate a wedding offer coming from Naples to secure the throne of Cyprus by having a new supporter by her side. Finally, she abandoned Cyprus after lengthy negotiations with family members and Venice. The two-year-resistance is a sign of power. Back in Venice, Caterina seemed to negotiate even further with the Venetian authorities. She was the first woman to receive a feudal title and territory by the Venetian Republic in Terraferma. Even though the position was created only for her and was temporary, it helped the queen keep her royal status and retinue, but at a reduced scale. However, the archival material is silent in explaining if Caterina proposed this or not. In all the years of exile, she did not lose her title, so she could even negotiate a new wedding and a return to Cyprus as a queen regnant. As an exile, Caterina did not exercise tangible political or financial power. Yet, although she donated her kingdom to Venice, she still fits into the typology of rulers who were kings and queens in exile, given that she kept her royal title, retained a persona of a queen, underpinned by her financial resources, and a functioning court that continued to attract important visitors. Moreover, like Charlotte, even in death she kept her royal title. In comparison of her life in exile with that of Charlotte, she did not fight to return to Cyprus and she did not have allies and supporters.

Charlotte and Caterina not only died as queens keeping their royal titles, but their respective histories and the natures of their sovereign status became the core reasons for a very long “battle” between Venice and Savoy, a “battle” that is part of wider conflicts over ceremonial competition in West Europe. This is explored in the second section of the thesis. Charlotte passed her royal title

to the dukes of Savoy in 1485 and Caterina donated her kingdom to Venice in 1489. Starting from the fifteenth and during most of the sixteenth century, what mainly mattered was the possession of the kingdom and not the royal title on its own, so Venice had the advantage of having under its control the island. As for the dukes of Savoy, with the 1504 *Ordo ducum*, Savoy gained priority over other ducal powers in Italy, so the royal title of Charlotte was not in itself vital. In the late sixteenth century though, things changed: in 1560 Venice was granted the *Sala Regia* in Rome and also gained precedence in the Imperial court in 1576, while Cosimo de' Medici gained the title of grand-duke of Tuscany in 1569. As a result, Savoy initiated an increasingly concerted strategy of regaining what it felt was its lost pre-eminence over the duchies of Italy; one approach was to exploit the issue of the donation of Charlotte. Vittorio Amedeo I's reign (1630-1637) represented the peak of the battle, as he claimed in 1633 officially the royal title on behalf of Savoy, something that made Venice react too. After Vittorio Amedeo I, relations between the two states were variable because of the royal title of Cyprus, until the fall of Venice in the late eighteenth century. In general, in this "battle", neither Savoy nor Venice was interested in the posthumous identities of Charlotte and Caterina as matters in themselves; they only focused on the political utility and relative legitimacy of their rival claims to Cyprus through the queens.

Part III reconstructed the images and iconographies of Charlotte and Caterina in lifetime and later until the nineteenth century, in Cyprus and the Italian Peninsula. By examining the images and iconographies of Caterina Cornaro and Charlotte of Lusignan from the fifteenth up to the nineteenth century, the thesis sought to see how the two queens were presented, and how their respective images evolved posthumously in changing circumstances, and changing idealisations of queenship and the "hero" archetype. These sources, mainly chronicles biographies, histories, literature, poems, operas and visual representations, principally originated from the island of Cyprus and the Italian Peninsula. As for Charlotte, Cypriot chronicles (which as it was explained were not necessarily objective) are almost unequivocally negative, presenting her as a sinner who married her cousin and who ruled poorly. However, as Pius II wrote, while in exile, Charlotte sought for years to find a way to return as a

queen in Cyprus. As for the visual sources, the fact that all the three paintings of Charlotte are in the Vatican palace, serves as a testament to her status. Moving on to Caterina, the Cypriot sources show the levels of local support she enjoyed as queen, as well as that of the sultan of Egypt; they also detailed how the Venetian authorities responded to the fact that she donated the island to Venice. The poems dedicated to her glorified her life, and this evidently continued long after her death, as reflected in the nineteenth-century-operas dedicated to her. In general, the fact that there are so many written and visual sources where she is the central subject, underscores the remarkable longevity of her story.

Consequently, a main intention of this thesis was to compare these two queens in both their lifetimes, through official documents, literature and art. This unique research has enlightened aspects of the lives, the dynamics, the images and the perspective of the two queens across the *longue durée* that, hitherto, were not established existing scholarship. Part I, although it includes biographical details about the two queens, was not intended as conventional biographies of them. The aim was not to include every surviving detail, but to explore in parallel their characters as constructed through surviving accounts, the way they ruled the island, the reasons why they had to leave, and the kinds of exile they faced. No other historical studies to date have presented parallel stories of the two queens, providing an innovative approach of this thesis. As explained, Charlotte the *de iuris* queen of pure royal blood that was raised to become queen, lost her kingdom from her illegitimate brother. Caterina without background and education in rulership, lasted fifteen years on the throne of Cyprus with the support of Venice. This part of the thesis analysed the reasons why the two queens lost their thrones and how these reasons could be connected to their gender. To continue, Charlotte faced external exile by coercion, while Caterina faced external exile after she agreed herself to donate Cyprus to Venice. The thesis also sought to examine whether subsequently, they were queens in exile and not just former queens; they were both received formally as queens in public events, they both had courts and they both kept their royal title even in their death. In spite of the fact that both the exiled queens enjoyed all these privileges, their cases were not the same. As it was

explained, only Charlotte surpassed the nature of her gender, as, unlike Caterina, she was trying, almost until the end of her life, to return to her kingdom.

Part II innovatively presented the official state positions of both Venice and the Savoy and their competitive strategies over the royal title of Cyprus, through archival material mainly from *Materie politiche-Estero, Negoziazioni Venezia* from Turin and *Consultori in Jure* from Venice. The fact that these sources are presented in comparison with each other gave a clear understanding of the long “battle” over the royal title of Cyprus and the reasons behind it. What emerges from this material, and also from the *Materie Politiche-Interno, Regno di Cipro*, the anonymous 1594 *Trattato*, the 1633 sources of Monod and Giannotti and the 1660 history of Guichenon, is that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the occupation of Cyprus was more essential than its royal title; that is why Savoy did not at that time use Charlotte’s donation. By contrast, in the late sixteenth and mainly in the seventeenth century the royal titles became strategically more important, and it was in these changed circumstances that Savoy finally claimed Charlotte’s royal title, accentuating the rivalry with Venice. Meanwhile, in spite of the fact that this part of the thesis was focused on the “battle” between the two states, it enlightened some aspects of Charlotte and Caterina too. From Savoy’s perspective, Charlotte is presented as the only *de jure* queen of Cyprus, the only legitimate daughter of King Jean, while Jacques is presented as a bastard usurper as a *de facto* possessor of the kingdom. Charlotte kept her royal rights and prerogatives until her death and she legally passed her rights to her close relative, Carlo I of Savoy. In these pro-Savoyard polemics, Caterina’s case is barely mentioned as the focus was on the battle between Charlotte and Jacques II for control of Cyprus and their competing rights to that kingdom. So, the story and image of Caterina in these sources almost does not exist. However, her case is mentioned more in Venetian sources, which underline that she governed the island for fifteen years with permission of the Egyptian sultan and gaining obedience from everyone, having every right to be called queen of Cyprus. Therefore, the fact that Venice had under its control Cyprus for almost a century was legal too, as it controlled Cyprus after the will of Caterina and consent from the Egyptian sultan. As for

Charlotte, it is underlined that she transferred the rights that she no longer had to the dukes of Savoy, as she was not in possession of the island for years. It is understandable that the focus in these sources was not to present the dynamics of the two queens as rulers and their queenly power - their images indirectly survived in these sources only because of the controversy of the two states over the royal title of Cyprus.

By contrast, the sources presented in Part III reveal many more aspects of the stories and images of these two queens across the extended period. The difference between the two parts is that Part II focused on the official archival documents of Venice and Savoy, while Part III includes non-official-state-documents: chronicles, histories, literature, poems and visual sources that kept alive the memories and images of the two queens after their death. Again, the sources were presented in parallel. In terms first of sources from Cyprus, these are only chronicles that provide entrenched characteristics about the two queens, as they underline that Charlotte was a sinner who lost her kingdom mainly because of her mistakes, while Caterina was surrounded by Venetians who mainly governed in her name. Both the queens were presented as weak rulers of the island, each one for other reasons. The sources from the Italian Peninsula enlighten different aspects of the two queens. Charlotte is mentioned by Pope Pius II and by Grimaldi as the unlucky queen who lost her throne, but she tried to return as queen in her later life. Thus, Charlotte is presented as a ruler in exile, who in spite of gender, never gave up trying. The fact that she was a ruler in exile is also demonstrated by the fact that she is depicted as accepted and blessed by another pope, Sixtus IV. Meanwhile, being depicted again in the Vatican palace in the seventeenth century entering her name into the registry of members of the confraternity of *Santo Spirito* suggests that her sojourn in Rome was noteworthy. But, the absence of written and visual sources dedicated to her in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shows that her story was forgotten by artists and authors and, by inference, that after the death she was only remembered in the seventeenth century, the century when Savoyard-Venetian rivalry over the royal title of Cyprus was at its peak. Consequently, it can be suggested that the image of the queen after her death is strictly connected to that inter-state rivalry. However, Caterina's case was far different as there are

written and visual sources dedicated to her in every century. The written sources provide the fact that in Cyprus she was protected by Venice against every potential enemy of her. Upon her return in Venice, not only did she live as a queen enjoying all the royal prerogatives, apart from those with tangible political power, but she was welcomed and honoured by her compatriots until the end of her life and even after, as she was repeatedly depicted as ceding the crown of Cyprus to the doge. The fact that there are so many sources dedicated to her suggests that, unlike Charlotte, her case was not strictly connected to the “battle” between Venice and Savoy over Cyprus’s royal title. In the nineteenth century, after Venice’s fall, Caterina’s image did not disappear. On the contrary, there are thirteen visual representations and seven written sources glorifying the old queen who became a modern heroine, as the woman who donated her kingdom to her motherland making her compatriots proud that she would be remembered forever.

This thesis has deployed various kinds of primary sources, such as state documents, official histories, unofficial histories and chronicles, literary sources and visual representations that cover a very long period of time, from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century, with their origins from two different locations, Cyprus and the Italian Peninsula. Collecting this material has taken a considerable amount of time, with research conducted in Italy, Cyprus and England. In spite of the richness of the material in Turin relating to Savoy, it is unfortunate that there are not a comparable range of original documents from the Venetian archives. The multi-lingual complexity of the sources, mainly Italian, Greek and French, coupled with the use of dialect and older language styles, made the research more challenging. Another challenge was the sheer number of visual sources relating to Caterina. Further visual sources are still likely to remain and are yet to be uncovered. The fact that there are no old or modern sources focused specifically on Charlotte was challenging too, as research about her had to be done from the basic level, unlike for Caterina, the subject of many more sources.

Although this research has utilised a combination of written and visual sources, further research might focus on archival material in Rome, which would yield further insights into the role of the papacy in relation to the

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competing interests of Savoy and Venice. This has not been done for this thesis as the main focus was on the relations between Venice and Savoy. Further, archival research utilising the correspondence of the ambassadors of Savoy and those of Venice in other states, such as Rome, Spain and France, to the dukes of Savoy and Venice respectively might in turn contextualise further the international dimensions of Cyprus and the Savoyard-Venetian rivalry.

* * *

Concluding, this thesis is a comparative examination about the politics of queenship and identity in Cyprus and in exile of Charlotte and Caterina, two queens regnant of Lusignan Cyprus. Their cases as queens in Cyprus, exiled queens and as ties in the battle between Venice and Savoy over the crown of Cyprus, encompass issues of gender, power and royal status. In general, queens in pre-modern period were expected to give birth to male heirs, to have good reputations in their kingdoms, to operate as patrons and to participate in government by having tangible power.²⁸⁷ In the fifteenth century, the examples of queens regnant were rare with the most successful queen regnant being Isabel of Castile. In fact, she became a powerful female prince, she was successfully involved in warfare and she received the obedience of men. Charlotte and Caterina were between the rare cases of the-fifteenth-century queens regnant. They were the first (and only) queen regnant of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and they ruled in a difficult period of time, as East Mediterranean was a region full of rivalries, competitive political interests and two long wars (1463-1479 Ottoman-Venetian war, 1485-1491 Ottoman-Mamluk war). In order for them to remain lifetime queens regnant, they had to encompass their gender, gain obedience from men, play significant roles in warfare and gain strong allies. The situation for them was difficult for another reason. They ruled a kingdom with no previous queens regnant, in a complex region (East Mediterranean) and with no background in queenship. In the end they both became queens in exile. However, both queens kept their royal titles

²⁸⁷ "Introduction" in Zita Eva Rohr and Liza Benz, eds., *Queenship and Power: Queenship, Gender, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060-1600* (New York, 2016), pp.xxiii-xxxv.

until their deaths, died as queens and donated their royal titles, Charlotte to Savoy and Caterina to Venice. But, while in exile, Caterina lived politically isolated, while Charlotte tried to return as a queen in Cyprus finding funds and support to surpass restrictions her gender might have imposed. The thesis drew a parallel between the cases of the two queens in exile with other European rulers, therefore connecting the ruling history of Cyprus in the wider European historical context. Charlotte and Caterina were compared with other European rulers who lost their kingdoms, lived in exile, but importantly did not lose their royal titles and sovereign status. At the same time, it was explained that Caterina and Jacques II were not the only rulers who ruled a kingdom without being the legitimate heirs. In the same way, Savoy was not the only state who claimed a royal title without actual possession of the kingdom.

Furthermore, this thesis examines their posthumous identities, until the late nineteenth century. The multidisciplinary research connecting history, literature and art is complicated, but at the same time synthesises the relevant information about the two queens, applying knowledge gained from one discipline to the others. After their deaths, the figure of Charlotte indirectly reappeared in the written sources discussing about the rights of the duchy because of the donation of Charlotte. Nonetheless, there is no painting of her in Savoy, suggesting that the duchy was only interested in using the royal title that Charlotte had donated to it. On the contrary, Venice and Venetian individuals, feeling honoured for Caterina donating Cyprus to her motherland, created paintings and written sources dedicated to her. Caterina's posthumous image, unlike Charlotte's, is not strictly connected to the "battle" between Venice and Savoy; written sources dedicated to her never ceased, like she never ceased being depicted as a modest lady, the queen who glorified Venice by donating her kingdom. The fact that her image in art and in literature was independent from the "battle" can also be explained by the fact that in the nineteenth century she became a heroine inspiring artists and authors who glorified her through their works. Caterina ranked amongst other women who were depicted as romantic heroines during the nineteenth century. Her case study as a romantic heroine was contextualised amongst those elite European early modern-women

whose story inspired artists, writers and composers. In contrast, Charlotte did not inspire either an artist or an author in the nineteenth century.

Overall, the thesis has provided the first systematic comparative study of Catarina's and Charlotte's queenship, exile and posthumous identities, through the dissection of their stories and influence in diplomacy and politics, art and literature from the fifteenth to the Italian Unification. Portraiture and literature, although not strictly connected to diplomacy and politics, can have contributions to a political context. In the cases of Charlotte and Caterina, art and literature partially became instruments of the social background and the political stage. Especially, Caterina's portraiture is highly politicised as she is mainly represented in such a way that the Venetian republic is glorified too. Thus, there is an historical connection between the original identities of Charlotte and Caterina as queens of Cyprus and then in exile, the impacts of their lives and royal titles on politics and diplomacy across the *longue durée*, and finally the indirect, and posthumous, politicisation of their images in art and literature.

Appendix

Appendix 1

The wedding contract of Louis, Conte of Genoa and Charlotte of Cyprus, Princess of Antioch.

Samuel Ghichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Book 4 (Lyon, 1660), Reprinted by Hachette Livre BNF in 2013, pp. 401-403.

En nom de Nostre Seigneur, de sa Glorieuse Mere, & de toute la Court Celestiel, s'ensuivent les Chapitres faiz touchant le Traittié, de Mariage entre Tres-haulte & Puissante Princess Dame Charlotte Fille du Roy de Chypres, Princsse d'Antioche; & Tres-hault & Puissant Prince Monseigneur Loys de Savoye Comte de Geneve, Fils de Tres-haut & Tres-excellent Prince Monseigneur le Duc de Savoye, de Chablais, & d'Aouste, & c.

Premierement, pour l'accomplissement du Mariage dessusdit, Magnifiques & Puissans Seigneurs Messeigneurs Ianus de Montolif Mareschal de Chypres, & Oddet Bossat Gouverneur de madite Dame la Princesse, Chivalliers, Ambassadeurs & Procureurs especiaulx à ce deputés par lesdits Roy & Princess, comme il s'appert devément par Lettres autentiques, dès maintenant par parolles de present, promettent au nom que deffus pour leurs serement sur les Saints Evangiles, & sur l'obligation de tous leurs biens, que ladite Princess prend & prendra pour son loyal & vray Espoux & Mary selon le commandement de Sainte Mere Eglise, & ensuivant & moyennant les dispensations à ce opportunes, mondit Seigneur de Geneve de maintenant par parolles de present, de l'autorité & exprès consentement de mondit Seigneur le Duc son Per, & ledit Seigneur de Geneve prendra & prend pour sa vraye & loyale

Epouse ladite Princesse d'Antioche.

Item que lesdits Ambassadeurs & Procureurs comme dessus, pour contemplation dudit Manage de maintenant, & par vertude la poissance sur ce à eux donnée, donnent à mondit Seigneur de Geneve pour luy, ses hoirs & successeurs descendant de madite Dame la Princesse, les tiltres & preeminences de ladite Principauté d'Antioche, & promettent de faire ratifier à la Majesté du Rpy de Chypre, après ce qu'ils seront arrivés en Chypres.

Item que estant arrivé mondit Seigneur de Geneve en Chypres, feront tenus lesdits Contrahants d'accomplir & consommer ledit Mariage; & cependant promettent non avoir fait fere, ne procurer estre faicte chose pour laquelle ledit Mariage se puisse dissoudre ne empescher.

Item mesdits Seigneurs Ambassadeurs; & Procureurs au non que dessus, dès maintenant constituent & donnent pour & en nom de Mariage & de dote à mondit Seigneur de Geneve les Chasteaux, Villes, Vassaulx & autres biens cy-aprés declairés & specifïes; lesqueulx promettent comme dessus fere valloir de revenuë annuele tant en viures comme autre prises & rentes, selon la coustume de la Secrete Royal, la somme de six mille Ducats; & en outre luy constituent en nom de dote tout ce que le Roy a donné à madite Dame la Princesse depuis la mort de la Royne sa Mere, lesquelles Places & Chasteaulx riendra & sera tenu de tenir mondit Seigneur de Geneve, selon l'usage du Pays, & d'en fere fideleté & homage a Roy.

Item promettent lesdits Ambaxeurs & procureurs pour & au nom que dessus, que sitost que mondit Seigneur de Geneve sera arrivé en Chipres, & estant consumé ledit Mariage; les Comtes, Barons, Chevaliers, Escuyers, & autres hommes liges du Royaume, viendront devers luy & luy promettront de le tenir & recevoir en leur Roy, cas advenant que le Roy morust sans Enfans masles de loyal Mariage; & ce à cause de Madite Dame la Princesse sa Femme en pact & convention que defaillant le Roy, comme dit est sans Enfans masles de loyal Mariage, & aussi madite Dame la Princesse sans Enfans (que Dieu ne vueille) ledit Royaume soit & doyet appartenir & appartienne pleinement & entieremet a mondit Seigneur de Geneve, referué toutes fois tous autres droits & decisions qu'il pourroit appartenir aux autres Messieurs Enfans de Savoye nés de Madame la Duchesse de Savoye Fille dudit Roy de Chipres.

Item promettent de fere biën & aultement enioyeler, en cas qu'elle ne le sust, madite Dame la princesse selon qu'il appartient à son estat & à Fille de Roy; & en outre que tout ce que luy a esté donné par feu Monseigneur son Mary en quelque maniere que ce soit & pareillement par la Reyne sa Mere; doye demouter pour elle & les

siens, & après elle cas advenant demourer à mondit Seigneur de Geneve pleinement & entierement.

Item semblablement pour contemplation dudit Mariage, promet mondit Seigneur de Geneve, de l'autorité que dessus, de s'en aller personnellement audit Royaulme, accompagné & fourny ainsi qu'il appartient à son Estat.

Item luy estant arrivé de par delà & conformé ledit Mariage, promet comme dessus de maintenir les assizes, soustumes & usaiges dudit Royaume, & de non venir au contraire d'icelles, ains tenir & observer toutes confederations, alliances & promesses que ledit Roy & les Predecesseurs ont eu cy-devant, & mesmement avecques les Venitiens & Gennois.

Item promet mondit Seigneur de Geneve de l'autorité & consentement que dessus, les Gensqu'il menera avec que luy, c'est assavoit ceulx dequoy il sera requis par ledit Roy, promettront d'estre bons & loyaux au Roy, durant le temps qu'ils seront audit Royaume.

Item pource qu'il a plusieurs charges & affaires audit Royaume, & mesmement des bonnes & grandes gagieres qui ne se peuvent bonnement racheter & mettre a point sans argent; promet mondit Seigneur de Geneve comme dessus, de fournir en Chypres les sommes, pour les employer à rachapter & recouvrer certaines rentes & revenues au prouffit du Royaume qu'il sont engagée comme dit est, en condition que s'il advenoit que le Roy eust Enfans ou Enfant masles de loyal Mariage, que en celui cas lesdites sommes employées à rachapter lesdites choses, doyieestre entierement renduë & restitué par le Roy en esdits Enfans à mondit Seigneur de Geneve, ou que lesdites choses rachaptées devoient demourer à mondit Seigneur de Geneve.

Item en cas que madite Dame la Princesse dessauldroit sans Enfans (que Dieu ne vueille) devant le Roy son Pere, les loyaux & veyselles que le Roy son Pere luy auroit donné depuis la mort de la Reyne sa Mere, doyent retourner audit Roy.

Et toutes les choses dessus escriptes promettent lesdites avoir fermes & estables, & mesmement lesdits Ambassadeurs & Procureurs icelle fere ratifier au Roy apres ce que mondit Seigneur de Geneve sera, arrivé en Chipres, avec toutes autres submissions, renonciations & autres clausules à ce necessaires & opportunes. Donné à Turin, l'an de nostre Seign. M.XXXX.LVIII. Indiction sixiesme, & dixième d'Octobre; Presens Tres-reverends Pere en Dien & Magnisiques & Puissants Seigneirs Messeigneurs l'Archevesque de Tharses, Loys des Marquis de Romagnan Euesque de Turin, Aymé Provana Euesque de Nice; Henry Abbé de

Filly; Loys Marquis de Saluces; Antoine des Marquis de Romagnan
Chancelier de Savoye; Loys de Savoye Seigneur de Raonis
Mareschal de Savoye; Aymé Comte de la Chambre; Mercurin
deReciez President de Piemont; Yblet Seigneur de Fruzasque;
Guiothin de Norés, Antoine de la Balme dit l'Asne, Chevaliers;
Michel Canal, Estienne Scaille, & Michel Provane Cocteurs es Loix;
laques Meynier General de Savoye; & Pierre de Buhan Seigneur de
Mirigna, Tesmoins appellés.

Appendix 2

Jacques II of Lusignan: His will

Wallace Paul W. and Andreas G. Orphanides, Sources for the History of Cyprus, Vol. XIII: George Boustronios, A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456-1489 (Nicosia, 2005), p. 119.

Should God perhaps and His will regarding my person, I leave my wife, who happens to be pregnant, lady and queen of Cyprus. In addition, should she give birth to an heir, let my son have the kingdom! Should he die, moreover, let the illegitimate Eugenius have the kingdom. And should Eugenius die, let John have it. Furthermore, should none of them perhaps live, let my illegitimate daughter have it. Should she too happen to die, then let the closest heir from among the Lusignans have it. This indeed is my will. I also bequeath a considerable treasure that I built up by numerous means. As for the galleys that I maintained in armed readiness, let them disarm all of them, for I kept the crews in a state of extreme oppression.

Appendix 3

The 1487 letter of Pope Innocent VIII to Charles I, Duke of Savoy, to inform him about Charlotte's death.

manuscript: AST RC, Mazzo 2 (1485-1632), No 3: Breve del Papa Innocenzo VIII di notificazione al Duca Carlo di Savoia della morte di Charlotte Regina di Cipro. (No numbers shown in the pages)

printed: Anonymous, Trattato delle Ragioni sopra il Regno di Cipro, appartenenti alla Serenissima Casa di Savoia. Con Narratione d' Historia del Violento Spoglio, Commesso dal Bastardo Jacques Lusignano (Turin, 1594), pp. 10r – 10v.

Innocetius Papa VIII. Dilicte filii, Salute, et Apostolica benedictione. Illustris meno. Carola Regina Cipri cosanguine a tua post diuturnu exilium, totq; fortunæ impetus, quos ipsa semper constanti, et religioso animo pertulit, extremu spiritum nuper Domino reddidit, illa divina clemetia in sinu Abrahe suscipere, et optatam, æternamq; quietem sibi concedere dignetur. Eius obitum, qui nobis propter vita sanctitatem, constantiam, religionem, et reliquas virtutes regias, quibus nulli catholico Principi postponenda videbatur, permolestus fuit, nobilitati tuæ, ad quam maximè pertinet, significandum duximus, quòd et sanguinis necessitudine, et arctissima charita te nemini coniunction fuerat. Hortamur excellentiam tuam paterno affectu huiusmodi casum, quando ita factum sit, sicut Domino placuit, patienter ferat, et ad Reginæ defunctæ memoriam grato animo celebrandam, et familiam eius superstitem, omni spe destitutam, confovendam animum convertas, præcipuè cùm ipsa regina amoris in te sui testimonium reliqueris, quæ omnia pridem iura sua nobilitati tuæ cesserit etdimisserit. Quod ad nos attinet, ex officio pastoralis pietatis, cùm nullus hic, ut accepimus, nomine tuo id onus suspiciat, funus, et alia

necessariae pro regia honestate, non parcentes impensae, fieri curabimus, nec deerimus dictae familiae quantum licebit inter tot difficultates, et onera, quibus continue oppressi fuimus, sed nobilitatis, atque virtutis tuae partes erunt in praesentiarum omni favorem, et auxilio ipsam familiam complecti, in qua, cum multi sint genere, et virtute praestantes, perique etiam aetate confecti, qui amissa patria, et omnibus fortunis suis, eandem Reginam ad extremum fideliter sequentes, consenuerunt, sane ad excellentiam tuam honeste deseri non possunt, illos propterea miserabiliter, confectos intus, et ex animo nobilitati tuae commendamus, in quos ea te liberalitate gerere decet, ut tu ipse, non tantum iuribus dictae Reginae, quam eius bonitati, et suos pietati successisse videaris, hortantes insuper excellentiam tuam, ut pro eius honore, et posterorum consolatione providere velit, ut aliquod sepulchrum honorificum construatur. Dat. Apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 21. Iulii 1487. Pontificatus nostrum Anno iii. Signat. Hic. Balbanus.

Appendix 4

The donation and transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus from Queen Charlotte to Carlo, Duke of Savoy.

manuscript: AST RC, Mazzo 1 (1381-1485), No 12: Ritratto autentico della donazione di Charlotte Regina di Cipro al Duca Carlo di Savoia e ell'istesso Regno di Cipro. (No numbers shown in the pages)

printed: Samuel Ghichenon, Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie, justifiée par titre, *fondations de monastères, manuscrits, anciens monuments, histoires et autres preuves authentiques*, Book 4 (Lyon, 1660), Reprinted by Hachette Livre BNF in 2013, pp. 401-403.

In nomine sancttæ, & Individuæ Trinitatis, Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, Amen. Huius publici, & autentici instrumenti tenore cunctis siat manifestum. Quod annoa Nativitate Domini sumpto M.CCCC.LXXXV. Indictione tertia, Pontificatus vero Domini nostri Innocentii divina providentia Papæ VIII anno primo, & die vicesimaquinta mensis Februarii, in presentia Reverendissimorum in Christo l'attrum, & Dominorum Iuliani Episcopo Ostiensis Tituli S. Petri ad vincula, & Dominaci de Ruvere Tituli S. Clementis Presbyt. S.R.E. Cardinalium, nec non Reverendorum Dominorum Caroli de Seyssello Preceptoris S. Antonii de Chamberiaco, Diocesis Gratianopol. Hugonis de Naxo Canonici Lausanens. Andreæ de Provanis ex Dominis Laynci Apostolicor. Prothonotarior. Venerabilis Domini Ioannis Chafforici Confessoris, & spectabilis Iacobi Anglici, Consilarii Serenissimæ Regina Cypri amborum de Nicosia de Cypro, omnium propter infra scripta peragenda pro testibus vocatorum specialiter, & rogatorum. Constituti videlicet Sereniss. Domina Carlotta Dei gratia Hierusalem, Cypri, & Aemeniæ Regina ex una

parte, & Reverend. In Christo Pater Dominus Ioannes de Varax Episcopus Bellicensis, Frater Merulus ex Comitibus Piozasqui miles Hierosolimitan. Admiratus Rhodi, & Magnus Dominus Philippus Cheurerii Iuris utriusque doctor Sabaudiaæ Præsident procuratores & procuratorio nomine Illustrissimi Principis, & Domini, D. Caroli Sabaudiaæ, &c. Ducis ex altera. Ipsa siquidem Carlotta Regina Serenissima de iuribus suis ad plenum certificata, considerans, & attendens humanitates, curialitates benemerita, & subventiones habitas, & receptas a præfato Illustr. Dominio D. Carolo Sabaudiaæ, & c. Duce eius Nepote carissimo, ex quibus non immerito orta est obligatio antidotalis, & quæ merita suo mediante iuramento tactis Sacro-sanctis Dei iscripturis, asserit fore vera, & a talium probatione huius instrumenti tenore, vult eundem Principem Illustrissimum relatum esse, & exemptum sperans insuper maiora in futurum consequi; Memoria etiam tevoluens proximitatem sanguinis quainvicem coniuncti sunt, cupiens præterea præfatum D. Ducem Illustr. Suum Nepotem carissimum tanquam benemeritum titulo, & dignitate Regale insigrire, & decorare. Considerato præcipue quoddictum Regnum Cypri vi, armis, & potentia Venetorum occupatur, & ipsi Regina Serenissimæ penitus est instuctuosum. Pro quo recuperando tot sustinuit labores, & expensas quod fere viribus, & potentia prorsus remansit exhausta, propter quæ non vi, non dolo, metu, fraude, aut alinquo circumuenta; sed ex eius certa scientia, spontanea voluntate, animoque deliverato, maxime ob dicta benemerita pro se, & suis hæredibus, & successoribus quibuscumque, Dat donat, cedit, transfert, & concedit, pure, mere, live, & simpliciter donatione pura, mera, simplici, & irrevocabili que dicitur inter vivos, nullo unquam tempore, occasione vek causa revocanda sine spe ulterius rehabendi prælibato Principi Illustr. Domino Carolo Sabaudie Duci, in quo tanquam filio carissimo unicam, atque totalem suam reposuit spem pro se suisque heredibus, & successoribus quibuscumque, licet absenti, dictis tamen Reverendis, & magnificis Dominis procuratoribus, & nobis infra scriptis Notariis, & Secretariis præsentibus stipulantibus, & recipientibus vice & nomine prælibati Principis illustrissimi, eiusque heredum, & successorum quorumcumque quorum interest, intererit, aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum Regnum Cypri, cum omnibus, & singulis actionibus, & directis & utilibus, realibus & foralibus tam simplicibus quam mixtis quas ipsa Serenissima Regina in ipso Regno quocumque iure directo, vel utili habuit, habere potuit habetque, et habere potest una cum mero, mixto Imperio, & omnimoda Iurisdictione Regalibusque urbibus, villis, Oppidis, Castris, terris, territoriis, hominibus, homagiis, aquis, aquarum decursibus, piscationibus, venationibus & omnibus aliis dicto Regno quomodolibet pertinentibus a diacentibus, dictæ que Regina Sereniss. Pertinentibus & pertinere valetibus, nihil iuris, actionis, rationis, portionis, dreyturæ, aut Domini in præmissis retinendo, sed a se prorsus, & in totum ablicando, & in præfatum D. Dominum Ducem Illustrissimum, eiusque hæredes & successores transferendo, & se per traditionem unius annuli, quem dedit in digito prælibati D.

Philippi Cheurerii Præsidentis Sbaudiæ, alterius ex Procuratoribus prædictis devestiando. Iurans eadem Serenissima Regina tactis corporaliter Sacro-sanctis scripturis nunquam se fecisse, nec facturam aliam donationem, cessionem, vel remissione de prædictis Regno, & pertinentiis supra donatis, salvis tamen & reservatis in principio, medio & sine præsentis contractus instrascriptis, scilicet quod dicta Serenissima Regina ad eius vitam naturalem possit, & valeat hoc nomine, dignitate, Regina Cypri, verbo & scriptis appellari. Quamquide nominationem, & appellationem sibi expresse reservat ut supra nonobstante præsentis contractu citra tamen illius priudicium & derogationem. Ita & taliter quod non obstante hac reservatione possit etiam Illustrissimus Princeps, & Dux prælibatus provt sibi videbitur eodem, titulo nomine, & dignitate, verbo & scriptis uti, frui & gaudere. Ponens ipsa serenissima Regina Illustrissimum D. Ducem præfatum in locum suum, ita quod ab inde in ultra virtute dictæ donationis possit, & valeat uti & experiri omnibus actionibus directis, utilibus, realibus, personalibus, meris, sive mixtis adversus qualumque personas tam Ecclesiasticas quam secularares, ac Potentatus quoscumque, & præmissorum occasione in iudicio, & extra agere, & experiri, & de dicto Regno pro suæ voluntatis libito facere & disponere, etiam de ipsius Regni fructibus, & intratis præteritis, præsentibus & futuris de expensis, etiam damnis & interesse pacisci, donare & componere, & concordare. Illa omnia patere, procuratores ad præmissa constituere, omniaque alia, & singula facere, & exercere quæ præfato Illustrissimo D. Duci necessaria fuerint, & oportuna, provt & quemadmodum ipsa Serenissima Regina ante præsentem donationem facere poterat, & valebat. Constituens se tenere & possidere nomine præfati Illustrissimi Domini Ducis donec, & quovsque de eodem Regno corporalem apprehenderit possessionem, & huiusmodi donationem, cessionem & remissionem promisit Sacro-sanctis scripturis corporaliter tactis nunquam revocare, vel contraeandem venire de iure vel facto, ex quacumque ratione vel causa, nunquamque impetrare absolutionem a iuramento ad finem contraveniendi donationi, & remissioni supra factæ, velaliquibus in ea contentis, & quarens impetraverit se dicta impetratione non invare, vel illa uti. Renuncians insuper dicta Regina Serenissima, mediante iuramento, tactis corporaliter scrituris per eam præstito exceptioni doli, mali, vis metus, & iuri dicenti contractum rescindi debere si dolus dederit causam contractui, aut inciderit in contractum, iuri dicenti donationem excedentem quingentos aurcos non valere, nisi fuerit insinuata, iuri dicenti cotractus facilitate mulierum celebratos rescindi posse, iuri dicenti donationem factam ex causa ingratitudinis, vel immensitatis revocari, iuri dicenti generalem renunciationem non valere, nisi præcesserit specialis & generaliter omnibus aliis exceptionibus, iuribus canonicis, & ciuilibus, quibus adversus præmissa, vel eorum aliqua quodquomodo contravenire posset: De omnibus tenunciationibus, & reliquis præscriptis prius informata, advisata & certificata per nos Secretarios & notarios infra scriptos vulgari sermone interueniente interprete D. Iacobo Anglico de Nicosia de Cypro eiusde Reginæ

Serenissimæ Consiliario, & familiari, qui lingua græca in præsentia testium supra, & infra nominatoru, eide Serenissimæ Reginæ & partibus omnia supra scripta sigillatim, & articulate explanavit, interpretatus est & retulit. Et quatenus requiretur alicuius superioris consensus propter defectum cuius præsens donatio, sive cotractus invalidaretur, annullaretur, aut alias fieret aliqua feudi apertura, vel commissio, vult & expresse reservat præfata Regina Serenissima dictu cinfesum, & beneplacitum, & ita illo reservato præsentē donatione celebrat, & non aliter, nec alio modo, sed dicta donatione illo non interveniente illo non interveniente vult esse resoluta, & pro infacta habita. Si vero alicuius Superioris non requiratur consensus, vult, expresse iubet, & ita actum est, & conventem inter partes, quod præsens causula, & reservatio de præsentī donatione tollatur, & amoneatur, & quam ex nunc eo casu ipsa Regina Serenissima tollit, & amovet, & ad maiorem roboris firmitatem requirit quoscumque iudices tam Ecclesiasticos, quam seculares quatenus præsentī donationi auctoritatem, & decretum inteponere dignentur. Acta fuerunt hæc in urbe, videlicet in Ecclesia Maiori Sancti Petri in Capella prope Sacristiam, præsentibus præfatis Patribus in Christo Dominis Iuliano Episcopo Ostiensi, tituli S. Petri ad vincula, & Dominico de Ruvere tituli Sancti Clementis Præsbytero S.R.E. Cardinalibus, nec non Reverendissimis Dominis Carolo de Seysello Præceptore S. Antonii de Chamberiaco, Hugone de Saxo Canonico Lausanensi, Andrea de Provanis ex Dominis Laynei Apostolicis Protonotariis, Venerabili Domino Ioanne Chafforicii confessore, & Spectabili Iacobo Anglico Consiliario prælibatæ Serenissimæ Reginæ, ambobus de Nicosia de Cypro testibus ad præmissa adstantibus vocatis specialiter, & rogatis. Signe Ranzo & Cohenart.

Appendix 5

The Sultan of Egypt Qaitbay recognised Caterina Cornaro as the formal queen of Cyprus

Angela Caracciolo Aricò, ed., *Marin Sanudo il Giovane: Le vite dei dogi (1474-1494)*, Vol. I (Padua, 1989), pp. 105-106.

Sultanus Dacardi Reginae Caterinae Cypri salutem. Mandemo questa nostra presente lettera a la laudabel Regina guardata et sapientissima generosa Catarina, altissima dela sua generation, et laudabele sopra tutta la sua generation christianissima amata da Carlì Sultan, Dio mantegna li vostri anni per longo tempo, et di ben in meglio renova la tua laude e beni. Avisamo la tua Signoria come havemo recevuto a le alte nostre Porte le honorate tue lettere, per le man del tuo honorato ambador, messier Thomaso Ficardo, Canzelier secretario dela tua corte, e havemo inteso el tuo scriver come tu te atrovi a li altissimi comandi e piaceri nostri, e fidel di le cosse nostre altissime, come con tutto el cor te offerissi humelmente cerca quello ch'è intravegnuto con li Capetani cativi, et li garbugii hai auto. Dio laudato che ti ha dato forza, che seo rimasta vincitrice contra l'horò, intendemo che el tardar del debito tuo è stato solo per caxon de garbuglii sei fora di affanni, havemo visto la fede tua, che con presteza ne hai mandato, a le altissime nostre Porte, el tributo de doi anni, lo qual havemo fato recever a lo altissimo nostro thesoro. Hai dato commission al tuo ambador che si atrovi avanti la nostra presentia e, a bocha, ne dimanda che su el nostro altissimo comandamento zoè che tu sei Regina e Signora de Cypri, come la se atrova, azò tutti li toi fedelli lo intenda et lauda a desfazion de tutti li toi inimici. Così havemo fato et volemo sia el nostro altissimo comandamento, secondo la tua richiesta. Ancora ne hai domandato che, per nostro altissimo comandamento, el sia liberato el tuo primo

ambasador ne mandasti al tempo di tuo garbugio mandamelo, venuto che fu el tuo ambasador a le altissime nostre Porte. Et, inteso el scriver e voler tuo havemo recevuto al nostro potente et altissimo thesoro el tributo mandatone per do anni, havemo laudato l'opera et bon voler havuti al nostro altissimo comandamento, et laudata la tua humileubidientia, e ti ha inteso l'hordene havea el tuo ambasador di esser a l'altissima nostra presentia, et requerir lo altissimo nostro comandamento vui fosse chiamata Regina et Signora, come havemo ditto di sopra, et cossí havemo fato, et mandemo lo ambasador primo ne mandasti con le lettere a l'altissima nostra presentia, lo qual havemo fato liberar di la prexon, secondo la tua richiesta, et il comandamento tu sei Regyna di Cypro, secondo ek cognosuto. Et mandemote una altissima vesta d'oro, fodrata de armelino, et una sela d'oro; et mandemore un presente del nostro altissimo thesoro. zoè porzelane pezi 14, athalassi di seda peze 4, zibeto uno corneto - legno aloe - libre x, benzui libre xv, balsamo una ampoleta, tyriacha busoli x, habbiamo vestito lo ambasador tuo di altissima vesta et havemoli data la sua speza; lo qual remandemo alegro, gratioso e con bon animo de le altissime carità nostre. Volemo che tu, madoma Regina, recevi questo altissimo nostro presente et che l'altissima vesta nostra porti con ubedientia, secondo usanza, a confusion de li toi inimisi, pregando per l'altissima nostra vita, e stagi con bon et alegro animo, perchè con l'altissima nostra vita ti volemo favorir et adjutar et con le nostre altissime forze socorer. Te recomandemo el popolo tuo et che i cavalieri, armiragii, con tutta la corte tua, te siamo amorevoli, et vegnando alcun d'i nostri Mori a comprar là - mandando a le altissime Porte nostre - ti fazemo la satisfazion, che tu sei disposta a li altissimo comandi nostri. Avisame le nove che tu hai, et quelle che novamente verano; tu intendi el comandamento nostro, che Idio sempre in tutto sia in tuo ajuto. Per la Sua Gratia, scripta a di x di la luna di Muscharam, l'anno 881 - 1477.

Appendix 6

The testament of Caterina Cornaro (1508)

Louis De Mas-Latrie, Documents Nouveaux Servant De preuves A L'Histoire De L'Ile De Chypre: Sous Le Regne Des Princes De La Maison De Lusignan (Paris, 1882), p. 585.

Considerando nui, Caterina de Lussignano, per la Dio gracia, regina de Jerusalem, Cipri et Armeniæ, che facilmente possiamo mancar de questa vita senza aver ordinato et fato alguno testamento, ancora che nostra volontà sia farlo ordinata et particolarmente, et massime chi die sucieder a la nostra falcutà come è conveniente, però in questo mego abiamo deliberato far questa polica de nostra propria mano, acio che sel ocoresse, che Dio ne guardi, che no possiamo far dito testamento, che per questa se veda la nostra ultima volontà. Però volemo e per far questa ordinemo che nostro erede universale de tuti nostri beni per ognuna ne potesse aspetar et eciam de la dote nostra el magnifico domino Gorgi Corner, chavalier, nostro unico fradelo, come la rasone, pregandolo che sel ocoresse el casso, lavie l'anima nostra per recomandata como samo certa lui farà. Ite volgia beneficiar nostre sorele, nepoti, parenti et servidori et damisele, como melgio a la so prudencia parerà; et massime quele persone che da nui non avia auto beneficio alguno. Ite ordinar la nostra sepoltura, capelani e limossine et altri beni per l'anima nostra como è conveniente al grado nostro. Questa è la nostra ultima volontà, in casso che no fasemo altro testamento.

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